

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 1948

VOLUME XXX

NUMBER FOUR

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Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of the ART BULLETIN, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, Cambridge 38, Mass.; books for review should be addressed to the Editor for Book Reviews, College Art Association, 625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

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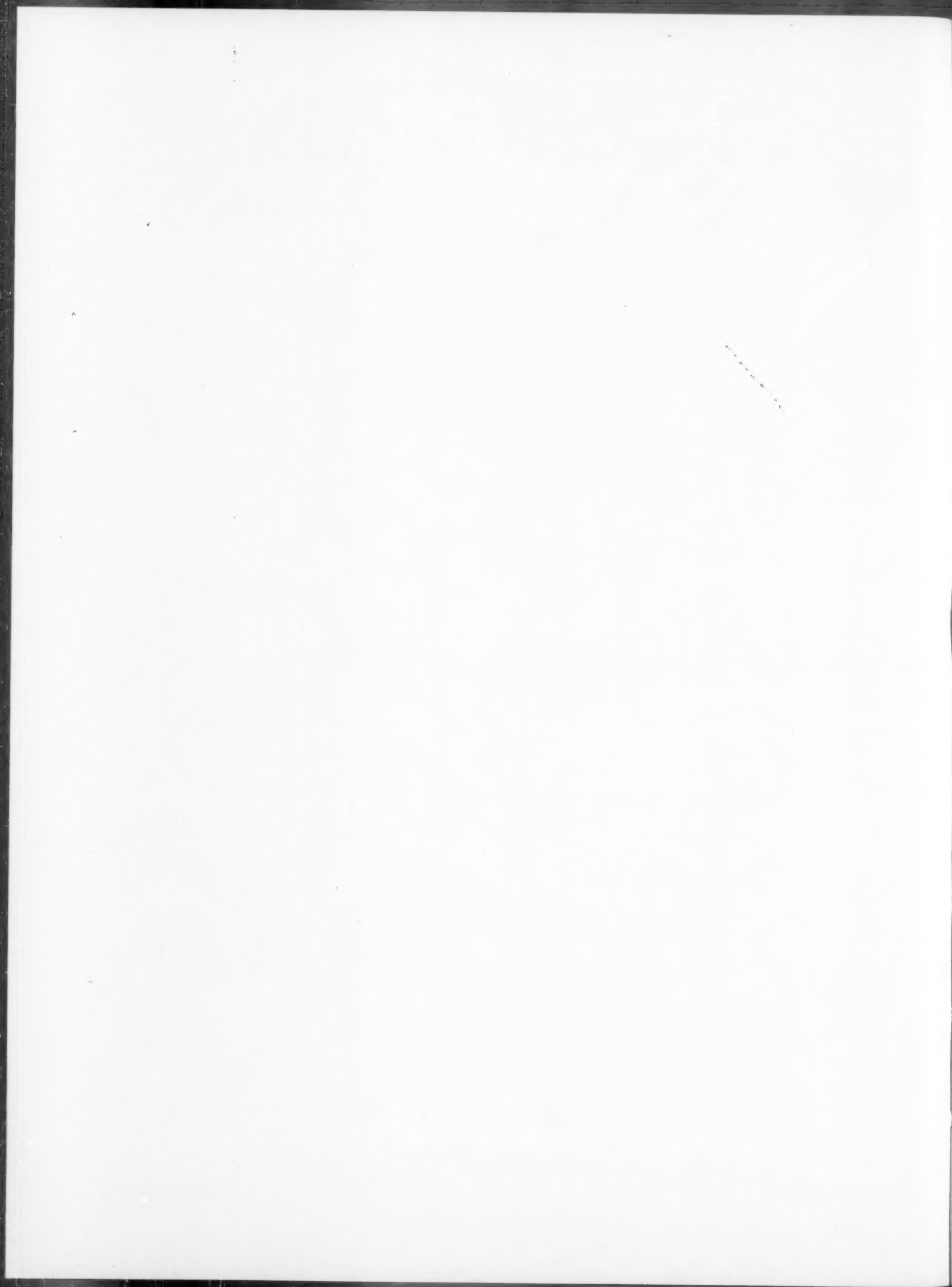
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SOME FLEMISH SOURCES OF BAROQUE PAINTING IN SPAIN

MARTIN S. SORIA

I

ITALIAN artists, particularly Michelangelo, the Venetians, and Caravaggio, exerted a strong influence on the Baroque painters of Spain. This fact is generally recognized—to the disregard of Flemish elements. Yet, as new discoveries are made, it becomes increasingly obvious that among the various foreign sources, French, German, Portuguese, etc., the Flemish may have been as abundant as the Italian. This paper will discuss specifically the influence of Flemish prints on the great Baroque painters of Spain. Examples used by Greco, Velázquez, Zurbarán, and Murillo will be presented.¹

The overwhelming impact made by Rubens and Van Dyck on the artists of Spain is well known but Flemish influence in the peninsula begins long before Rubens. Flanders and Spain, under one crown, were closely related. Although politically often at odds, people in both countries thought along similar lines. Much has been said, and often quite correctly, about the difference in character and national spirit between the various European nations. However, the material here presented tends to confirm a larger view which emphasizes the basic unity, coherence, and inextricable interrelationship of western European art and culture. Certainly cross influences are at work everywhere. The same themes are repeated throughout the Catholic world, but a common heritage and common spiritual preoccupations embrace, in a measure much larger than generally admitted, the Protestant as well as the Catholic sphere of western Europe and its colonies. The entire western hemisphere was fully a part of the European circle.

1. The reproductions were selected from material found in September 1947 during a brief period of work at the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The writer wishes to thank its Director, M. Jean Adhémar, for his invaluable advice and his kind aid in making available the treasures under his care. A systematic study of the large European print cabinets would surely multiply the source material for Baroque painting in Spain and other countries. It is to be hoped that this task will soon be undertaken by scholars better qualified than the writer, and that the microfilming of European print rooms, so urgently needed, will make their incredibly rich contents available to students the world over. This paper was presented in a shorter form during the early spring of 1948 at the Museu de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, the Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid, the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico in Barcelona, and elsewhere. The courtesies extended by Dr. João Couto, Don Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, and Don José Gudiol at the three institutions mentioned are gratefully acknowledged.

No medium found wider distribution and none was more effective in spreading pictorial ideas than the print.² The world center of the printing press was Antwerp.³ Flemish prints went to all of Spanish-speaking America, from Mexico to Bolivia. In the sixteenth century Indian and European artists, under the guidance of Spanish mendicant friars, covered the walls of Mexican churches and cloisters with frescoes derived from German prints: Schongauer, Dürer, Holbein, and the Wittenberg Bible.⁴ In the last third of the century and throughout the seventeenth, colonial artists copied Flemish engravings. Prints, paintings, and painters from Flanders arrived in large numbers, not only in Spanish America,⁵ but also in Spain. Our findings tend to indicate that Spanish Baroque painting owes a debt, far larger than has been

2. The search into the antecedents of Spanish Baroque painting should help clarify the individual contribution of each artist and give a truer measure of his greatness. The prints serving as a model were sometimes only a starting point, a first idea, but in other cases supplied the composition, or the poses of the figures, or both. The modern notion, applied to contemporary painters as well as to old masters, that an artist has to be original at all costs, appears open to doubt. The number of solutions seems limited and to some extent every artist stands on the shoulders of his predecessors. Great modern masters, just as Greco and Velázquez, try to capture the fresh and young spirit of our time, fusing it with elements gleaned from older artistic tradition. The art lies in the life, the intimately personal transformation which the artist knows how to impart even to a hackneyed theme. Old treatises on the art of painting agree on the importance of copying as basic to art instruction. Inspiration in foreign models was a legitimate practice long after the apprentice had become a master. (See the most important study by D. Angulo, *Velázquez cómo compuso sus principales cuadros*, Seville, 1947, and A. Palomino, *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, Madrid, 1724, III, p. 390. Palomino defends Alonso Cano's use of prints in a significant passage quoted in full by Angulo, *op. cit.*, p. 17. See also F. Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, Seville, 1649, pp. 159-162).

3. See A. J. J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1934. See also various books published by J. Denucé at Antwerp in the last two decades, documenting art exports from that city to the Spanish-speaking world.

4. See M. Toussaint, *La pintura en México durante el siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1936; G. A. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, New Haven, 1948, II, pp. 368, 372-373. Although Kubler, on the basis of the evidence available today, is skeptical regarding the widely accepted idea that woodcuts exerted a predominant influence on sixteenth-century painting in Mexico, the writer believes that a systematic search will uncover increasing proof of the dependence of colonial mural and easel painters on prints.

5. Several of the most important colonial masters in Mexico were of Nordic origin: Simon Pereyng and Diego de Borgraf of Antwerp, and Juan Gerson, perhaps also a Fleming.

acknowledged heretofore, to Flemish art, particularly to art of the Mannerist period. Velázquez's first works, his *bodegones*, for example, stem from the kitchen-pieces by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, as explained in a recent lecture by Neil MacLaren.⁶ Quite a few of these Flemish kitchen paintings can still be found in Spanish collections.

II

We shall see that even El Greco, who spent many years in Italy learning the art of painting, used Flemish prints once he arrived in Spain. While in Italy he copied Italian prints.⁷ His adaptation of a woodcut by Boldrini⁸ for a *St. Francis and Companion* (in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo) is well known. Another print, invented by Taddeo Zuccaro, engraved by Cort and dated 1567, served as model for the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Willumsen Collection at Copenhagen, as the owner himself observed. The reader is invited to see Willumsen's book for reproductions.⁹ Being young, the Cretan followed his model rather faithfully. He repeated precisely the pose of each figure as it appears in the print, including the two women looking on from a window: Zelemi, the believer, and Salome, whose hand withered for lacking faith. The great artist made, however, significant changes in the composition. Zuccaro had given us a symmetrical, funnel-like arrangement, a typical Mannerist scheme. By omitting several figures and shifting one shepherd from left to right, El Greco simplified the design and increased its movement. The silhouette of the ox and the ass are stressed, thus conforming to Byzantine pattern. At the right, the arch was replaced by a landscape to emphasize the diagonal. Greco's insistence on this Baroque principle is noteworthy because the work is an early one, painted only a few years later than the print. His most important contribution, however, is the concentration of the composition. The Christ Child, radiating light, is the center of the theme. The ellipse of the figures sur-

rounding him is greatly strengthened. The ellipse and the parabola so strongly brought into play by El Greco are essential traits of his art, as Otto Benesch has shown.¹⁰ Benesch explains the ellipse as the formal, structural vehicle of the Mannerist style; that is, of the art produced during the second half of the sixteenth century. The astronomer Kepler introduced it into his Copernican vision of the world, stating that "the circuits of planets are ellipses with two foci in one of which the sun is located." Tintoretto as well as Greco used the ellipse, so suggestive of space, as a basic design of his compositions. "Parabolas and hyperbolas dynamically and unendingly sweep into the infinite space." In a study on Sánchez Cotán, who was one of the decisive influences on Zurbarán, the writer suggested that the parabola, coming from the infinite and returning to it, in the vision of many painters of the period linked this world to the next.¹¹ In Greco's picture a Child God has descended from heaven where he will return. This may sound like scented oratory but it is submitted that mathematics played an increasingly important role in El Greco's art and help to date his later paintings. Parabolas, hyperbolas, and ellipses are for him the artistic and compositional device by which he succeeded, more and more convincingly, in uniting heaven and earth.

Thirty years later El Greco used another engraving also executed in Italy, at Venice, but this time by a Fleming, Johan Sadeler (Fig. 17). It represents a *Vision of St. Hyacinth*.¹² The painting (in the A. C. Barnes Collection at Merion, Pa.) is listed in the inventory of Greco's son, Jorge Manuel, and can be dated on stylistic grounds about 1597. The only other version, later and more nervous, also listed in the inventory, is in the Art Gallery at Rochester, N.Y. We saw that in the case of the Willumsen *Adoration* El Greco was more interested in copying the component figures than the composition itself. The *Vision of St. Hyacinth*, however, is one of the rare instances where he took over a design with but little variation. He repeated the kneeling saint at the right, the Virgin—her outline unchanged—seated on a throne of clouds, the two columns with their pedestals, and the step at the lower left. To suggest an indoor setting, the clouds of the center background were replaced by the equally nebulous figure of a bishop in a niche. While retaining the basic elements of the composition, the painter changed the style and translated a print of classical breadth into a stimulating, lively creation in his own manner. A dynamic zigzag rhythm passes

6. Mr. MacLaren based his conclusions on prints. The fact that a large number of Flemish kitchen paintings, among them a *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, were found by the writer in Spain, can only bolster the English scholar's contention. See also A. L. Mayer, "Velázquez und die niederländischen Küchenstücke," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, January 3, 1919, pp. 236-237. Aertsen and Beuckelaer, in turn, copied architectural details from Serlio's engravings; see Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurler, "Pieter Aertsen en Joachim Beuckelaer en hun outleeningen van Serlio's architectuurprenten," *Oud Holland*, LXII, 1947, pp. 123-134.

7. See R. Pallucchini's masterful and revealing article "Some Early Works by El Greco," *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 130-137, especially p. 133. Pallucchini finds Greco "... study and plagiarize without scruple prints of Parmigianino, Schiavone, Caraglio, Bonasone, Cort, Zuccari, Sadeler, and others."

8. Reproduced in J. Willumsen, *La Jeunesse du peintre El Greco*, Paris, 1927, II, pl. LIII, and the reproduction opposite p. 322.

9. See the reproductions and discussion in Willumsen, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, and opposite p. 342.

10. Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 1945, pp. 124-143, especially pp. 130, 138, 139. Benesch's brilliant interpretation has not yet found the attention it deserves.

11. M. S. Soria, *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 225-230.

12. For reproductions of the two versions of Greco's *St. Hyacinth*, at Merion, Pa., and at Rochester, see Legendre, *El Greco*, Paris, 1937, pls. 362 and 363.

upward through the hands and the head of the much elongated saint on to the head of the Virgin. The two middle fingers of the Dominican's right hand are joined in a typical, elegant gesture. Instead of the print's ponderous Christ Child in the pose of an antique sculpture, Greco painted a Mannerist baby in excited distortion. It is copied, inversely and with few variations, from Titian's *Madonna and Child in an Evening Landscape* (Pinacotheca, Munich), formerly in the Sacristy of the Escorial.

In the famous *Resurrection* of the Prado Museum (Fig. 1), we may recognize reflections of an engraving by Antonie Blocklant, executed by Philip Galle at Antwerp (Fig. 2). The engraving must have appealed to Greco for the wild, mannered gestures, the nervous rhythm of the figures, and the contrasted, flickering lighting of the scene. It is remarkable, however, that the Greek did *not* copy the omega-like pattern of the clouds and figures, although it was one of his favorite compositional schemes. Instead he invented a most unstable diamond shape. Thus accentuating the dynamic movement of the event, he strengthened the explosive effect of Christ's apparition on the soldiers, and accelerated his upward thrust. Since the height of the canvas was greatly increased, a strong counterweight was needed, furnished by the fallen soldier drawn in violent foreshortening. With broadly extended arms, his body projects out of the picture plane and balances the vertical figure of Christ. While Greco changed the composition, he relied, as usual, on the print for the figures. Christ ascending to heaven extends his right hand, his mantle crossing to the left in sharp movement. The fallen soldier below raises his right leg and opens his arms. A cascade of six legs, kicking and vaguely parallel, can be seen in both print and painting. Adopted outright were the pose of the soldier at the left lifting his arm, as well as the military equipment strewn about: a helmet, a sword, and a halberd. The feet of the young man at the left of the print appear at the right of the picture. The foreshortened leg next to the shield at the lower right of the print is shifted to the left foreground of the painting. Incidentally, the half-length nude of a helmeted soldier resting his head on his left hand, in the center of the picture, may have been a source of Velázquez's *Mars*, which surely also reflects Michelangelo's statue of Lorenzo de' Medici. Comparisons of other engravings of the same series by Blocklant with paintings by Greco supply additional proof that the print did indeed inspire the Greek painter.

For the *Opening of the Fifth Seal* (Zuloaga Collection at Zumaya), Greco took the poses of some of the nudes from H. Goltzius's *Seven Days of Creation* (Antwerp, 1589). The *St. Jerome* (National Gallery of Scotland, another version in the Hispanic Society of America), in its general pictorial idea and the ac-

cessories represented, should be compared to Jerome Wierix's half-length print of the saint. The first sheet of a sequence *Music of the Spheres* by Johan Stradanus, engraved by Philip Galle, apparently inspired the pose of some of the angels populating the heavens in Greco's *Veneration of the Holy Name of Jesus* (one version at the Escorial, the other in the Stirling Collection, Keir, Scotland). Theotocopuli's well-known half-length versions of the penitent *Mary Magdalen* are related not only to Domenico Tintoretto's representation (in the Capitoline Museum at Rome), but to engravings by A. Collaert. In the Greek painter's *Immaculate Conception* (Thyssen Collection, Lugano) we find a rushing angel perhaps derived from a similar one at the left of Marten de Vos's *Trinity* (Antwerp, 1594). In every one of these instances El Greco may have borrowed either the poses of figures or merely the subject matter. However, he usually did *not*, during his Spanish period, copy a foreign composition.

III

Velázquez's sources and method of composing are the subject of a recent brilliant study by Diego Angulo.¹³ The author furnishes new, entirely convincing, evidence on the extent to which outside sources influenced the great artist, who was particularly indebted to Dürer, Michelangelo, and Greco. Velázquez began a work of complicated composition by using the general framework of a foreign model, enriching the design by incorporating motifs from diverse other sources. Angulo shows,¹⁴ for instance, that the *Surrender of Breda* (Prado)¹⁵ is derived not only from a French print, as had been known, but from paintings by Veronese and by Greco. One may add: also from Dutch pictures which Velázquez had imitated and surpassed during his first stay in Rome. Some years ago, Professor Longhi discovered in a princely gallery at Rome a most important small picture painted by Velázquez about 1630. It resembles the manner of Pieter Codde,¹⁶ and is an immediate forerunner of the *Surrender of Breda*. Angulo also shows that the

13. See note 2 above.

14. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21, 27-54.

15. The great battle pictures for the Salon de Reinos of the Buen Retiro Palace of Madrid, of which the *Surrender of Breda* was only one, are not without vague precedents in Flemish prints either; see Stradanus, *Mediceae Familiae Rerum Feliciter Gestarum Victoriae et Triumpho*, Florence, 1583.

16. Pieter Codde's signed *Guardsmen*, at the Borghese Gallery, Rome, as well as his *Guardsmen Scene* (C. L. Cardon sale, Brussels, June 27, 1921, no. 49) and similar pictures, may be earlier or slightly later than Velázquez's Roman genre scene. It does not matter, because pictures of this type by Codde or by other Dutch artists must have existed before 1630 and must have influenced Velázquez's picture. Codde, born 1599, a pupil of Frans Hals, was an exact contemporary of Velázquez. Following an indication by Professor Longhi, who, it is hoped, will soon publish his important find, the writer was able to see the new Velázquez at Rome, and is fully convinced that it is indeed by the Spanish master.

Tapestry Weavers are an ingenious transformation of individual figures as well as compositional motifs derived from Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling. The *Surrender of Breda*, the *Tapestry Weavers*, and the *Court Ladies*, to cite but three of Velázquez's greatest works, give an amazing impression of unity. To anyone not familiar with his method of composing, they might appear to be instantaneous snapshots, scenes actually observed, and painted on the spur of the moment.¹⁷ On the contrary, they are "synthetic" pictures, most slowly and painstakingly worked out by Velázquez. Two or three further instances of foreign motifs may be added to the examples discovered by Angulo.

In 1934 Paul Jamot published,¹⁸ as the chief source for the composition of the *Surrender of Breda*, a tiny woodcut by Bernard Salomon from a book printed at Lyon in 1553.¹⁹ It seems to have passed unnoticed that Velázquez copied another print from the same book for his *Bloody Coat of Joseph* (Escorial).²⁰ The

17. This was the notion expounded by Justi and Beruete, universally accepted until Angulo's study. C. Justi, *Diego Velázquez and His Times*, London, 1889, p. 416, says of the *Court Ladies*: "Such a grouping as this can have resulted only by chance. . . . When the royal couple were giving a sitting to their Court painter in his studio, Princess Margaret was sent for. . . . The King sat there, yielding to his paternal feelings in the midst of the family circle. Then it occurred to him, being himself half an artist, that something like a pictorial scene had developed before his eyes. He muttered: 'That is a picture.' The next moment the desire arose to see it perpetuated and without more ado the painter was at work. Hence the peculiar character of the composition which as an invention would be inexplicable. . . . In this instantaneous picture the artist himself had also of course to be taken." On p. 427 he says of the *Tapestry Weavers*: "On one occasion when he was showing a party of Court Ladies to the door and had stepped aside . . . he noticed certain pictorial motives in the groups moving before him, and thus arose the *Hilanderas*. . . . The groups could not look more accidental or unstudied in an instantaneous photograph." Certainly Velázquez could not ask for greater praise, having so well concealed the labor that went into his elaborately prepared composition. Similarly, Beruete, *Velázquez*, London, 1906, p. 113, says of the *Court Ladies* and the *Tapestry Weavers*: "Velázquez painted them on the spot after the manner of an instantaneous photograph. This innovation in the art of painting is one of the reasons which nowadays lead us to consider Velázquez as the greatest of innovators. And that is why all artists who seek the first source of their inspiration in the direct study of nature look upon him as their leader." Finally, in the same vein, R. M. Stevenson, *Velázquez*, London, 1906, p. 18, writes: "In his latest pictures Velázquez seems to owe as little as any man may to the example of earlier painters." José Ortega y Gasset, *Velázquez*, Bern, 1943, pp. 13 and 23, still accepted these theories, thoroughly disproved by Angulo's researches, and drew tenuous conclusions from them. Ortega's essay contains speculations which the Velázquez student would not easily endorse. Another brilliant article by Angulo, "Las Hilanderas," *Archivo español de arte*, no. 81, 1948, pp. 1-19, further confirms the latter's point of view. Angulo explains hitherto enigmatic portions of the *Tapestry Weavers* and suggests that the canvas might be a purely mythological picture realistically treated. This tentative hypothesis has much to recommend it.

18. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Series 6, XI, 1934, pp. 122-123.

19. *Icones Historicae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Lyon, 1553.

20. A cut from the Lyon Bible almost certainly inspired Francisco Collantes's signed *Hagar and Ishmael with the Angel*, in the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. The hand-wringing mother seated at the foot of an imposing tree, the sleeping

design is similar (Figs. 3 and 4). Jacob is seated almost in profile, raising his right hand in a tragic gesture. Before him stand five men. The three heads of the men next to the Patriarch are grouped in a curve. The Spanish painter took over this arrangement and a fourth head, keeping the same relationship between the men in print and painting. Velázquez accentuated the diagonal of the five standing figures, thus marking the depth of the scene and creating the Baroque illusion of three-dimensional space. He copied faithfully the man standing second from the right in the print, using the position of the arm to make him seize one end of the tunic held up by his neighbor—a logical improvement over the print because it serves to relate the two figures. The third and the fifth men in the print are recast into a single personage appearing in the canvas as second from the left, in almost identical pose of head, body, legs, and arms. Velázquez repeated, with greater clarity and force, the division of the background in bands of light and dark, the sky visible at the left just as in the print. Even the dog has a pedigree: in the woodcut the curve of the foot of the chair forms part of a parabola, and this parabola is completed in the picture by the little dog. In place of the Mannerist back of the Patriarch's chair, we see his raised left arm. These examples prove the importance which elements of design had in the artist's mind. Angulo commented rightly on his extraordinary ability to replace one form by another, similar in shape but entirely different in content.²¹ Notwithstanding the fact that Velázquez also borrowed figures and poses, it is first of all the composition which interested him and which he copied. Other examples given by Angulo²² further illustrate the artist's facility in using models of entirely unrelated subject matter, attracted by their composition, form, or movement.

When painting the *Bloody Coat of Joseph*, probably about 1630 at Rome, Velázquez was more than ever under the spell of Rubens, his friend since 1628. He may have remembered a scene by the Fleming, a *Judgment of Solomon*, containing more or less evident parallels to the picture at hand. Rubens's painting (Fig. 5), of about 1608, has been in the Spanish royal collections at least since the eighteenth century and is now in the Prado. This source explains the dog, the man at left seen from the back, the pose of the seated Jacob's head, as well as the rug on the floor. Most important of all, it explains the Rubensesque illumination, soft and diffused, which had been noted by all writers on this picture and its companion piece, the *Forge of Vulcan*. Furthermore, in both the *Judgment of Solomon* and the *Coat of Joseph* an object held in mid-air toward the center of the composition

child in strong foreshortening, and the gesticulating angel with swirling draperies, all recur in the painting.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

22. *Op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.



FIG. 1. El Greco, The Resurrection. Madrid, Prado Museum (Archivo Mas)



FIG. 2. Antonie Blockland, The Resurrection. Engraving



FIG. 3. Bernard Salomon, The Bloody Coat of Jacob. Woodcut



FIG. 4. Diego Velázquez, The Bloody Coat of Jacob. Escorial (Archivo Mas)



FIG. 5. Peter Paul Rubens, The Judgment of Solomon. Madrid, Prado Museum (Archivo Mas)



FIG. 6. Theodor Galle, St. Norbert at the Council of Fritzlar. Engraving



FIG. 7. Francisco de Zurbarán, St. Bonaventure's Mediation at the Council of Lyon. Paris, Louvre (Anderson, Rome)



FIG. 8. Theodor Galle, St. Norbert and St. Bernard before Emperor Lothar. Engraving



FIG. 9. Francisco de Zurbarán, St. Bruno Visiting Pope Urban II. Seville, Provincial Museum (Anderson, Rome)



FIG. 10. Schelte a Bolswert, St. Augustine Appearing to Duke Francesco Gonzaga. Engraving



FIG. 11. Schelte a Bolswert, St. Augustine Washing Christ's Feet. Engraving



FIG. 12. Francisco de Zurbarán, The Battle of El Sotillo. New York, Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 13. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, St. Augustine Washing Christ's Feet. Minneapolis, Walker Art Center



Petrus de Bellis fecit . . . **S. CECILIA** . . . *Martiris sanctae Ecclesiae, ecclesiae
Antiquae cum principibus*

FIG. 14. Pieter de Baillin, St. Cecilia. Engraving



FIG. 15. Francisco de Zurbarán, St. Casilda. Madrid, Prado Museum (Archivo Mas)



FIG. 16. Crispin van den Broek, Dan. Engraving



FIG. 17. Johan Sadeler, A Vision of St. Hyacinth. Engraving

receives concentrated light. Together, the French print and the Flemish painting (Figs. 3 and 5) clarify the genesis of the canvas at the Escorial.²³ We showed that Velázquez used prints from the same book for the *Coat of Joseph*, probably painted at Rome in 1630, and for the *Surrender of Breda*, the latter anticipated in the small picture newly discovered in Rome and probably painted there also in 1630. Velázquez thus apparently first saw the French book during his trip to Italy, and then and there began to conceive the *Surrender of Breda*.

His *Coronation of the Virgin* (Prado) derives from even more diversified sources, as Angulo discovered,²⁴ the chief one being a Dürer print which was also used by El Greco. From it Velázquez took the basic trichord of his design and the elegant curve of the Madonna's mantle. A painting by Greco indicated the position and the gesture of Christ and of God Father, and Ribera's *Magdalen* (Academy of San Fernando at Madrid) suggested the little angels playing among the ample folds of the Virgin's robe. It seems to the writer that a print by Sadeler, dated 1576, after a drawing by Marten de Vos, inspired the head and the bust of God Father as well as the massed folds of Christ's cloak falling vertically to his feet. In the broad and gentle mood of Marten de Vos's design according so well with Velázquez's own, one may perceive a closer spiritual harmony to the Prado *Coronation* than offered by either Dürer's, Greco's, or Ribera's work. All four sources together, perhaps in combination with others not yet found, explain the extent to which the design and poses of Velázquez's picture are derivative. In his masterful blending of divergent elements, the artist created something greater than its parts. From old melodies he composed a new, deep harmony. Set in warm blues and clarets sounding in unison, is the chaste and tender saintliness of the Virgin. Who, in front of this moving picture, can accuse Velázquez of lacking genuine religious feeling? That his faith was deeply rooted and sincere,²⁵ is proved also by the small, signed *Crucifixion* which recently entered the Prado. Authentic, I believe, beyond any doubt, it stirs us by the sorrowful humanity of the dying Saviour. Against a wide and melancholy landscape of mysterious, inky blues, recalling the mood of late Titians, Velázquez modeled the pain-racked body of Christ in pale, sensu-

ous flesh tones of vibrant plasticity. Nearly all Spanish painters of the seventeenth century possessed profound faith. It was the divine source of Baroque art. Before touching the brush to paint a religious picture, they were asked to prepare by praying, fasting, and chastising themselves.²⁶

IV

The greatest exponent of mystic realism in Spanish religious art of the seventeenth century was Zurbarán, who seems to have been inspired by engravings from Antwerp more than any other Spanish master of the period. Angulo published a print by Cort,²⁷ closely copied by Zurbarán in a lost painting surviving only in several shop versions. In 1629, for the famous series of St. Bonaventure, now dispersed over Europe, Zurbarán consulted a *Vita S. Norberti*, a life of the patron of Antwerp by van der Sterre, published in that city in 1605, with engravings by Theodor Galle. No less than seven prints furnished motifs to the Spanish artist. Zurbarán's picture in the Louvre (Fig. 7), has been known under various titles, e.g. "St. Bonaventure Presiding a Chapter of the Franciscan Order," notwithstanding the fact that no Franciscans can be seen. Another interpretation was "The Reception of the Ambassadors of Emperor Paleologue," although the ambassadors also remain invisible. Some twenty years ago Father Beda Kleinschmidt²⁸ suggested that the canvas represents "St. Bonaventure's Mediation at the Council of Lyon in 1274." This solution to the problem has found little acceptance, but the engraving from the *Vita S. Norberti* (Fig. 6) proves it to be correct. The companion piece of the painting, also at the Louvre, represents the death of the saint, which took place at Lyon a few months after the Council. Confronted with the task of painting a Council, Zurbarán chose a corresponding scene from the *Life of St. Norbert: St. Norbert at the Council of Fritzlar*. The canvas was labeled "Council" already in the inventory of 1810 of the Alcazar of Seville just before being carried off by Marshal Soult.²⁹

Zurbarán painted St. Bonaventure as a cardinal seated at the right, and before him a tall cleric, with right hand raised, replaces the St. Norbert of the

23. Angulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80, published examples by Dürer and El Greco as models for Velázquez's *Bloody Coat*. Greco's pictures were always in the artist's mind, and particularly at this time, as Angulo has shown that the coeval *Forge of Vulcan* derives its composition and some of the poses from Greco's *St. Maurice*.

24. *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.

25. Justi, *op. cit.*, alleged that Velázquez was indifferent toward religious subjects. Modern scholars discount this view; see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *La Espiritualidad de Velázquez*, Oviedo, 1943; E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Velázquez*, London, 1944; and M. S. Soria, *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, p. 215, reviewing the last named book.

26. See V. Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, Madrid, 1633, Index, under the heading "Cómo se ha de disponer un Pintor para pintar Imágenes sagradas," refers to p. 7 where Carducho says that, before painting religious pictures, a painter prepares "alma y cuerpo con oraciones, disciplinas y ayunas . . . bien debidas prevenciones para tan sagrado empleo." See also Pacheco, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 139-141, 144.

27. *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, VII, 1931, pp. 65-67.

28. P. Beda Kleinschmidt OFM, "Das Leben des Hl. Buena-ventura in einem Gemäldezyklus von Francisco Herrera dem Aelteren und Francisco Zurbarán," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XIX, 1926, pp. 3-16, esp. p. 12.

29. See M. Gómez Imaz, *Inventario de los cuadros sustraídos por el Gobierno intruso en Sevilla (año 1810)*, 2nd ed., Seville, 1917, p. 127, no. 69.

engraving. Another ecclesiastic, half seen from the back, is seated at the right, both in print and picture, lifting his left hand as if about to speak. Zurbarán grouped the heads tightly together in a line that would be monotonous had he not given each head the appearance of an individual portrait. He borrowed from the print the head of the archbishop, with pallium, in the center, and the profile at the extreme left. In the background, the opening of an arch occupies the same place in print and painting. Comparing both representations, Zurbarán's work strikes us as vastly more impressive and dramatic. His powerful architecture is almost modern in its simplicity, its pure, geometric lines. It operates in unison with the large, monumental figures, painted in deep and bold colors.

Another page from the *Life of St. Norbert* illustrates the *Finding of the Relics of St. Gereon at Cologne*. St. Gereon appears to the kneeling St. Norbert and informs him of the location of his tomb, lost for many centuries. Zurbarán, in the picture formerly at Dresden,³⁰ shows St. Bonaventure asked by the cardinals to designate a successor to the late Clement IV. He humbly kneels in prayer, asking for God's guidance, and the angel points to the absent Gregory X, who is to be chosen Pope. The painter repeated only the general composition: the kneeling saint, the vision, the steps, and the crowd before some arches in the background. Restricting the story to its essentials, deepening the chiaroscuro, painting his figures in large, sweeping shapes, the artist has transformed a conventional print into a scene of silent, mystic introspection. We feel the saintly surrender of Bonaventure to the will of God.

The *Last Communion of St. Bonaventure* (in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa)³¹ probably does not belong to the series of four pictures done by Zurbarán for the church of San Buenaventura at Seville. It is different in size, and its style and execution, perhaps with the exception of the well-drawn head of a figure in the left foreground, can surely not be credited to the master but rather to an unknown member of his shop. It seems to be later in date than the St. Bonaventure series, as the figures are spaced more widely and three-dimensional depth is more strongly emphasized. Paul Guinard discusses thoroughly the difficulties standing in the way of the alleged provenance from San Buenaventura, and suggests that the canvas may possibly be from the church of San Francisco at Seville.³² The author of the picture also used a scene from the *Life of St. Norbert*, substituting without hesitation the dying saint for the mother of St. Norbert on her bed of confinement. He borrowed the position of the bed, the curtains, and the heavenly ray falling on the re-

cumbent figure. The two windows, in the center and at the left of the picture, recall the light areas of the mirror and the shutter in the engraving. These compositional elements are utilized for an entirely different story.

Another even more amazing substitution is that of a dead column for a live Emperor. For his *Visit of St. Bruno to Pope Urban* (Fig. 9), Zurbarán took as model the *Visit of St. Norbert to Emperor Lothar* (Fig. 8). The composition of two seated figures in the foreground and a heavy solid between them in the middleground pleased the artist, but, since the Emperor does not enter into the life of St. Bruno, the painter omitted him and replaced him by a stout column. Zurbarán, just as Velázquez, was more interested in details of composition than in the narrative. Is further proof needed that the artist relied upon the *Life of St. Norbert*? The canvas, from the Carthusian convent of Our Lady of the Caves near Seville, painted about 1633, is in the Museum at Seville. A saintly numen emanates from St. Bruno, a halo of sanctity which communicates itself to the spectator. In this picture there is no outward action. All that happens lies within the individual. Meditating quietly, only living for his inner vision, the saint seems to be touched by divine grace. The artist has painted something very Baroque and difficult to convey—silence. Or, in Lafuente's words, "Man in the presence of God."

Kehrer found that for another painting of the same Carthusian series, the *Virgin of Mercy* (also in the Seville Museum), Zurbarán had used an engraving by Schelte a Bolswert, a pupil of Rubens.³³ It forms part of a *Life of St. Augustine*, published by Schelte at Antwerp in 1624. Zurbarán copied the angels holding up the mantle. In place of the dying saint he painted the Virgin, and humble Carthusians instead of high ecclesiastics. Zurbarán's pristine imagination, his intensity, his simplicity, and his plastic organization have raised the painting to an ethical level far above that of the print. Four colors ring forth in purest harmony: the pink of the Virgin's gown, the light blue of the mantle, against the warm orange of the background, and the cool whites of the monks—"une symphonie en blanc majeur," in one of the many felicitous phrases of Paul Guinard. Chaste flowers, so tender one is afraid of breaking them, so fresh one can smell their fragrance, lie at the Virgin's feet. The highly imaginative shape of her gown is of extraordinary power. Rising from a broad base, with folds ascending like organ pipes, the movement expands through the protectively extended arms, rests briefly in the finely modeled, small head of the Virgin, and swings victoriously upward along the winglike edges

30. Reproduced in H. Kehrer, *Zurbarán*, Munich, 1918, pl. 15.

31. Reproduced by P. Guinard, *Archivo español de arte*, 1946, no. 76, p. 268.

32. See P. Guinard, *op. cit.*

33. See *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, IV, 1920/21, pp. 248-252, for a reproduction of Schelte's engraving as well as of the painting by Zurbarán.

of her huge mantle. The metallic amplitude of the forms reminds one of sculpture by Jacopo della Quercia, the plastic greatness calls to mind Michelangelo. The kneeling figures, in white of many shades, project from the dark background. A musical rhythm wings along the clear-cut folds of their robes. Each monk is clearly separated from his brethren. Space in three-dimensional depth is most successfully organized. This picture is a masterpiece. It shows how much Zurbarán had learned since he painted the sequence of St. Bonaventure. We may recall the tight grouping of figures in the *Council of Lyon*, of 1629, and the small degree of spatial clarity in the *Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Seville), dated 1631. If we consider the progress in draftsmanship and brushwork made since, we cannot date the pictures for the Carthuse of Seville before 1633.

Less obvious are Zurbarán's borrowings from another engraving by Schelte of the same series: *St. Augustine Appearing to Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua* (Fig. 10). The subject of the painting (Fig. 12), from the Carthuse of Jerez and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, had long been misunderstood. It represents the Battle of El Sotillo, won for the Christians through the intercession of Our Lady of the Defense.³⁴ The Virgin looking down from her throne of clouds replaces the St. Augustine of the engraving. Zurbarán took over the dark diagonal of the repoussoir group and of the ridge at the left, set against a lighter background. Similar in both scenes is an equestrian battle in a distance at the right, and the distribution of alternating light and shade. Above the landscape we see a narrow zone of shadow, and, toward the top, the vision bathed in light. The horse at the left is replaced by a disproportionally large halberdier. Above him appear, just as in the print, profile heads of soldiers and a battery of lances. The two riders nearest the pike-man are faithfully copied from the two heads above the horse, which is also used in the painting. The rider with baldric, lance, and shield, galloping in a diagonal away from the spectator, is bodily lifted from the print. Such equestrian figures, however, are not Bolswert's invention but derive from engravings by Antonio Tempesta. The battle scene, as a whole, recalls prints by the Italian engraver. The most ingenious section of the canvas, and the one which most clearly bespeaks the strong and virile spirit of Zurbarán's art, is the dark half-length of a soldier at the right. Standing behind the kneeling Duke, he can also be found in the print, where he sports a large mous-

tache and, reversed in position, is looking over his left shoulder.

Murillo, Zurbarán's contemporary, was also influenced (in a painting in the Walker Art Center at Minneapolis) by a print from Schelte a Bolswert's *Life of St. Augustine* (Fig. 11). Murillo solved the same problem that had faced Zurbarán: the conversion of a horizontal scene into a vertical one. The picture (Fig. 13) was painted about 1655, for the Nuns of San Leandro, Seville, and once formed part of the Standish Bequest to King Louis Philippe, exhibited at the Louvre from 1841 to 1848. At this early stage of his career, Murillo adhered closely to the original model. His painting suggests, furthermore, a certain connection between his art and that of Zurbarán, who may have lent Bolswert's book to the younger painter. It is unlikely that a formal master-pupil relationship existed between the two but it is certain that the influence of Zurbarán is the decisive factor in the early art of the Sevillian. This is amply proved by Murillo's first works: the *St. Lauterio* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), the *Madonna* (Museum, Seville), *Nativity* (Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.), the *St. Agnes* (formerly owned by the Duke of Bejar, Madrid),³⁵ and by the *Double Trinity* (formerly Heine-mann Gallery, Munich, now in a private collection at Stockholm), which, incidentally, copies part of an engraved *Adoration of the Shepherds* by A. Bloemaert.

Murillo's painting at Minneapolis (Fig. 13) represents the *Vision of Christ by St. Augustine*, a scene often depicted in the seventeenth century, although the Bollandists considered the story to be apocryphal. The saint is said to have cared for the poorest pilgrims passing by the monastery where he lived. One day, ministering to a traveler even more wretched than usual, he kissed his feet in an ecstasy of love and humility. The pilgrim, Jesus Christ, made himself known and told the saint: "Magne pater Agustine, tibi commendo ecclesiam meam." Murillo fondly repeated even the detail of the shoes on the ground. But whereas Schelte, with Nordic romanticism, had presented a delightful forest of shady leaves and gnarled trees, exaggerating the idyllic aspect of hermit life, Murillo, a good Spaniard, accentuated the ecclesiastic hierarchy, the Church itself, the mitre, the crozier.³⁶

35. This picture had for some fifty years or more been known as a Zurbarán. The writer doubted this attribution and believed it possibly to be a work by Alonso Cano (see *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1944, p. 168). Now that he has seen the picture and the other works by Murillo mentioned, it seems clear that the *St. Agnes* is by Murillo, and one of his finest early works. It was painted very much under the spell of Zurbarán but already shows an elegance and enveloping breadth characteristic of the master of the *Kitchen of St. Clare*.

36. Links between other works by Murillo and prints exist: the *Prodigal Son* series, Sir Alfred Beit Collection, London, should be compared to the sequence by Sadeler of this subject; the famous *Niños de la Concha*, at the Prado Museum, are related to paintings of this theme by other artists, one later engraved by B. Gautier, Paris, about 1680; and the *St. Francis Xavier*, at the Wads-

34. See H. B. Wehle, "A Painting by Zurbarán," *Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1920, pp. 242-245; *idem*, *Catalogue of Italian, Spanish, and Byzantine Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1940, p. 235; and M. S. Soria, "Francisco de Zurbarán, A Study of his Style," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Series 6, XXV, 1944, p. 154.

Returning to Zurbarán: among his most popular works are the series of Virgin Martyrs. This group raises many problems, the first being that of attribution. Having personally studied all but one of them, the writer believes that the majority were produced by assistants, sometimes based on designs of the master or corrected by him during execution. This seems to be the case with the ten saints from the Hospital de la Sangre, now at the Museum of Seville. Of these, *St. Marina* and *St. Agnes* are the most likely also to have been touched by Zurbarán's own brush. By the master himself are, in my opinion, less than a dozen pictures: *St. Margaret* (National Gallery, London), *St. Apollonia* (Louvre), *St. Casilda* (Prado), *St. Elizabeth* (Van Horne Collection, Montreal), *St. Rufina* (Hispanic Society of America, New York), *St. Catherine*, and the companion picture of an unidentified saint (Museum, Bilbao), *St. Ursula* and *St. Euphemia* (both Palazzo Bianco, Genoa). In the last painting an assistant may have collaborated, particularly in the face, since the half-length version, in the collection of Dr. Jiménez Díaz, Madrid, appears to be better. The *St. Agatha* (Montpellier), which the writer once thought to be entirely a product of the shop, may be admitted into the circle of Zurbarán's own works, although perhaps done partly by an assistant. The writer knows no other Virgin Martyr which could claim to be by Zurbarán. For instance, a *St. Lucy* (Chartres), which Guinard rightly recognized as a companion picture to the Louvre *St. Apollonia*,³⁷ seems far inferior in quality, and largely, if not entirely, carried out by the shop.

The interpretation of these saints poses another problem. Angulo remarked that they appear to walk in a procession or across a stage, like the figures of a performing clock.³⁸ Emilio Orozco Díaz, who has thrown much light on the essence of the Baroque in Spain, speculates that these saints refer to the transitory quality of life, to the quickly fading glories of this world.³⁹ He believes that the pictures symbolize the great capacity and subconscious disposition of the Spaniards toward the transcendental. However, many engravings made at Antwerp prove that this way of thinking was not exclusively Spanish. Orozco Díaz quoted Spanish seventeenth-century verse, speaking of ladies portrayed as saints; he inferred that the Virgin Saints of Zurbarán were commissioned portraits and that they express the very Spanish exaltation of the ego, the longing to secure eternity even in this world. All of us know that such portraits exist not only in Spain. The Capitoline Museum at Rome pos-

sesses a magnificent likeness of a mid-sixteenth-century *Lady of Brescia*, with the accessories of *St. Margaret*, by Savoldo. In the Descalzas Reales at Madrid are several portraits of small Polish princesses, of about 1600, represented as saints.⁴⁰ These and similar portraits are clearly characterized as likenesses of actual people who are depicted dressed according to the fashion of their time, the saintly attributes being almost an afterthought. Is this true also in the case of Zurbarán? Is it true, as claimed by the Prado Catalogue of 1945, that his *santas* are shown in dresses worn by noble ladies of the epoch? Or did he at least invent the rich and startling garments clothing them? It would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove that such attire was fashionable at that time in Spain (1630-1650), or anywhere else, for that matter. The writer has never seen a portrait of a Spanish seventeenth-century lady wearing a similar costume. Such dresses do, however, occur in many sixteenth-century paintings and prints of western Europe. Flemish engravings by Marten de Vos, Heemskerck, and others, show Jewish worthies, men and women, in similar elaborate dresses of oriental splendor.⁴¹ Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, saints are still thus luxuriously attired. If we compare the engraving of *St. Cecilia* by Pieter de Baillin after Rubens or after Schelte a Bolswert (Fig. 14) and the *St. Casilda* of the Prado (Fig. 15), we find a brocaded mantle falling back over the shoulder, borders of precious stones and pearls, and rich jeweled chains. Many similar Flemish engravings exist, after Rubens, Schelte, and David Teniers the Elder. One is entitled to doubt whether Zurbarán's Virgin Saints were commissioned portraits.

If, as we have seen, the costumes were not painted from life, there remains the question of the portrait-like quality of the faces. Some of these, e.g. the *St. Margaret* at London and the two Saints at Bilbao, have realistic faces, and the painter, in these instances, may have used a model, just as he did in the *Beato Rodríguez* and the *Mercedarians* (Academy of San Fernando, Madrid), or the eight *Carthusian Saints* (Museum, Cadiz). Most of the other Virgin Saints seem less realistic, and this very quality in Zurbarán is indicative of their saintliness. He was one of the best portraitists Spain produced. Can we believe that he was not capable of characterizing more incisively the heads of specific persons? It seems, furthermore, that the *St. Elizabeth* at Montreal, the *St. Rufina* at New

worth Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn., shows affinities to a print of the subject by Antonie Wierix.

37. *Op. cit.*

38. *Arte en América y Filipinas*, Seville, 1935, no. 1, pp. 54-58.

39. See his latest book, *Temas del Barroco*, Granada, 1947, particularly pp. 31-35.

40. Still another *Portrait of a Lady* in contemporary fashion with the attributes of *St. Magdalen*, of about 1565, is owned by the Marquis de Montortal at Valencia, to whom the writer is obliged for a photograph. See also *A Noble Lady as St. Elizabeth* (Smith-Barry Collection, London), formerly attributed to Zurbarán but apparently Italian, about 1675.

41. The rich dresses of Zurbarán's Saints may be explained by a general Baroque tendency toward sumptuous ornamentation. Rembrandt also liked to paint gold-embroidered dresses and much gold jewelry.

York, and the *St. Agatha* at Montpellier are based on the same model—a model more ideal than real. The first two Saints are, by reasons of style, datable about 1640. In 1639 Zurbarán's second wife died,^{41a} a severe loss, causing a crisis in the artist's life which was reflected in his art. This is the beginning of what may be called his solemn manner. From then on, his art shows accents of sadness, with elegiac overtones. He painted, at that time, a series of *St. Francis*, skull in hand, meditating on death.⁴² At least for the time being and until new arguments are set forth, one may suggest that none of Zurbarán's Virgin Martyrs represents a lady wishing to be immortalized as a saint, although some probably were painted from life models. The Saints done around 1640 may be evocations of his recently deceased wife. In 1644 he married for the third time and stopped painting Virgin Saints altogether. In the same year he executed the only female portrait known to the writer, a bust of Gerónima Aguilar y Guevara, co-donor of the altar of *St. Ildefonse* at the parish church of Zafra, Extremadura.⁴³ Still *in situ*, it shows Doña Gerónima in the typical costume of the time, of blackish taffeta with wide lace collar and cuffs, several strands of pearls, and her dark hair arranged in the butterfly fashion of Velázquez's *Infantas*. Although the authenticity of the portrait has been doubted, the writer considers it and its companion, Doña Gerónima's husband, to be by Zurbarán's own hand, judging by their stylistic similarity to the donor portrait in the signed *Crucifixion* of 1640 (Lezama Leguizamón Collection, Bilbao). Together, the two Zafra portraits would furnish final proof that Zurbarán's Saints were not meant to portray earthly ladies.

Pieter de Jode's engravings of the Twelve Sons of Jacob, of 1575, after Crispin van den Broek, might serve to buttress the assumption that the costumes of Zurbarán's Virgin Saints (and those painted in his shop) derive from Old Testament figures. *Dan* (Fig. 16) not only anticipates the attire used by Zurbarán, the cut-out borders and embroidered pearls, but even the gesture of his left hand is Zurbaranesque, and his stance offers a striking resemblance to that of the *Angels with Incense Burners* (Museum, Cadiz). This and other series of the Twelve Sons of Jacob, for instance one by Johan Sadeler, are interesting because

two gifted pupils of Zurbarán painted important life-size series of the subject (one near Durham, England, the other at Puebla, Mexico) which are in part derived from engravings by Heemskerck, of 1559. A third, inferior and much damaged series at Lima, Peru, also shows the influence of Zurbarán and is based on Flemish prints.

Among Zurbarán's most important but also most neglected works are ten scenes from the Life of Hercules, in the Prado Museum. The series may derive in part from the strongly expressionist woodcuts by Gabriel Salmon, done at Nancy in 1528, or from engravings by H. Cook after F. Floris of Antwerp. Perhaps another, as yet undiscovered, source guided Zurbarán in this instance. Similarly, we may ask whether any connection exists between a painting of *Two Angels Adoring a Monstrance*,⁴⁴ in the Hospice of Villanueva del Río Segura (Murcia), attributed to Zurbarán, and a print of the same subject by Ralph Sadeler, after Marten de Vos. To conclude the discussion of Zurbarán, it may be suggested that the series of Twelve Roman Emperors on Horseback, shipped by the artist to Lima, Peru, in 1647, might have copied a sequence by the Italian printmaker, Tempesta. No doubt, like most work sent from the peninsula to the colonies, this group was largely, if not entirely, executed by the shop. The subject had also been engraved by Tempesta's teacher, the Fleming Stradanus, but Tempesta's prints anticipate Zurbarán so closely in the spreading of the narrative in profile over the picture plane, and even in the mood, that they look like Zurbaráns *avant la lettre*. The master would have delighted in their massive energy, their Baroque elegance, their barbaric, grotesque trappings, their wonderful expressiveness.

V

Northern prints influenced other Spanish artists. Although the writer has not attempted to carry his investigation further, a few examples among those found by him may be cited at random. Ribalta's famous *Angel with Violin Appearing to St. Francis*, in the Prado Museum, should be compared to Sadeler's engraving after Paolo Piazza (1557-1621). It is not clear whether the Valencian knew this print or some other of the same subject. Jerónimo Espinosa and Alonso Cano found inspiration in Abraham Bloemaert, painter and engraver from Catholic Utrecht. Espinosa adopted one of his two versions of *Christ Carrying the Cross Appearing to St. Ignatius Loyola* (Museum, Valencia), with very slight changes, from an engraving of this theme by Cornelis Bloemaert. It represents a picture done by the latter's father, Abra-

41a. Zurbarán was married three times, not two, as had been believed hitherto. His first wife, María Paez, whom he married when only eighteen years old, was nine years his senior and the daughter of a gelder. In 1624 or 1625 he married Beatriz de Morales, and in 1644 Leonor de Torderas. See María Luisa Caturla, "Zurbarán en Llerena," *Archivo español de arte*, no. 80, 1947, pp. 265-284.

42. A similar change took place in the art of Rembrandt, whose wife also died in 1639.

43. See María Luisa Caturla, "Conjunto de Zurbarán en Zafra," *ABC*, Madrid, April 20th, 1948. The writer wishes to thank the distinguished scholar for calling his attention to the existence of works by Zurbarán at Zafra, thus causing him to visit the town and study the pictures.

44. Reproduced as by the master in the *Catálogo de la exposición de obras de Zurbarán*, Madrid, 1905, no. 39, but actually by the shop. Its owner in 1905, Doña Isabel López, gave it later to the Hospice where the writer rediscovered it.

ham, for the Jesuit church at the Hague. As a Spaniard, Espinosa conceived the scene more realistically, putting the Lord on a human level. He depicts him, not on a throne of clouds, but walking on the ground toward the kneeling saint.

Zurbarán's pupil, Antonio del Castillo, deserves special notice because he took from Bloemaert, not compositional elements or poses, but the subject matter and particularly the style. His drawings of pastoral scenes are inspired in theme and technique by Bloemaert's engraved sequence of Peasants at Rest. His pen studies of heads, hands, and feet, are close reflections of printed sketchbook sheets by the Utrecht painter. Castillo adopted Bloemaert's manner to such an extent that stylistically he owes as much to him as to Zurbarán, his actual teacher. Both Zurbarán and Castillo borrowed their manner of painting trees and leaves from the Dutch master.

In colonial Spanish America, European and native prints were usually copied with great fidelity and few, if any, changes. Kubler gave a number of examples from sixteenth-century Mexico and pointed out that Juan Gerson in 1562, at Tecamachalco, executed "his medallions in a variety of manners borrowed from the Wittenberg Bible derivatives, Holbein's *Icones*, and Venetian book illustration."⁴⁵ Thus one artist varied his style in a single pictorial sequence, according to the source he followed. During the next two centuries scores of Flemish prints were faithfully copied in the colonies. It is noteworthy that often a print, not used in Spain, was copied in widely separated areas, in Mexico, Ecuador, and in Peru. Were some prints sent to the colonies only? It is more likely that on account of their subject matter and style these engravings interested colonial painters more than peninsular ones. Santander's *Lord Treading the Winepress* (Isaiah, 63, 1-3), at Puebla, came from a print by Jerome Wierix. Mr. Pál Kelemen kindly informs the writer that other versions exist in the Francisco Baum Collection, at Quito, Ecuador, and in the Prado Collection at Lima (from Cuzco). The first example is signed "A. S.," who, as Mr. Kelemen suggests, might be Antonio Salas, active about 1760. St. Sebastian, writhing at a tree to which two tormentors are binding him, was nearly always painted in the same fashion in Mexico and in Peru,⁴⁶ as witness the version by José Ibarra, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It was copied from an engraving after Jacopo Palma, by Egidius and Marcus Sadeler. In the Museums of Puebla and Guadalajara, the writer saw versions of St. Matthew, all very similar because they were derived from an engraving by Pieter de Baillin after Theodor

van Thulden. Many representations of the "Kneeling Sorely Bleeding Christ after the Flagellation" were inspired by a print from the hand of Rubens's pupil, Abraham van Diepenbeeck.

One of the most famous colonial paintings at Cuzco, Peru, represents the *Christ Child Refusing His Mother's Breast for the Cross*, executed about 1631 by the Indian Diego Tito Quispe.⁴⁷ This picture copies a design by Marten de Vos, engraved as late as 1614 by Raphael Sadeler at Munich. In the Museum of Fine Arts, at Boston, is another free copy of this scene, hitherto classified as Spanish but more likely to be Mexican, about 1650. The "Vision of the Cross" as an iconographic theme does not appear to derive from the Bible, unless it be inspired by Psalm 22, and the writer is not familiar with any literary source for it. One of the earliest examples of its occurrence in art is Master Bertram's Buxtehude Altar, at the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, of about 1390. There, two angels on foot, with crown, cross, nails, and lance, visit Mary and the Child, but as in all other examples the vision is the Child's alone. At least from the sixteenth century onward, the theme occurs in Italy, France, and Spain. Garofalo (d. 1559) painted a Virgin contemplating the Child while angels descend from heaven with crown, cross, and nails. The picture, once in the collection of the Kings of France and now lost, survives in an engraving by Poilly. Francesco Albano, in a painting also now lost, formerly at the Capuchin Sisters at Bologna, represented the Child tearing himself from the bosom of His mother to contemplate cross and chalice presented by angels. Mâle states that in the seventeenth century this theme became a favorite.⁴⁸

Finally, there exist fourteen small panels of a *Life of St. Rose of Lima*, exhibited a few years ago at New York on behalf of the Peruvian Government, which are faithful copies of a series, *Vita et Historia S. Rosae*, engraved at Antwerp by the brothers Galle.

Of all Flemish painters of the sixteenth century, Marten de Vos appears to be the most important single influence on the artists of Spain and Spanish America. Not only prints but signed paintings by him survive in both regions where his influence was equaled only by that of Rubens during the Baroque.

VI

We have seen how Flemish prints, in many ways, helped to shape the physiognomy of Spanish Baroque painting, and how they influenced Spanish religious

45. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 368 ff. and 373.

46. A. Velázquez Chávez, *Tres siglos de pintura colonial mexicana*, Mexico, 1939, fig. 124; for an example at Cuzco, see M. Solá, *Historia del arte hispano-americano*, Barcelona, 1935, p. 251; also F. Cossío del Pomar, *Pintura colonial (Escuela cuzqueña)*, Cuzco, 1928, frontispiece, and opposite p. 198.

47. Solá, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV; and Cossío del Pomar, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 7.

48. See V. C. Habicht, *Maria*, Berlin, 1926, p. 172, fig. 22; C. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, ed. 1841, Bologna, II, p. 174; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 329-330; M. Trens, *Maria, Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 201-203.

thinking as such, as Angulo prophesied we might seventeen years ago: "If one wants to know the nature of religious feeling by the vast majority of Spaniards in their daily lives, the influence of foreign devotional prints must have been really decisive. . . . Some of those representations which are characteristic of the innermost Spanish soul perhaps might turn out to be but slight transformations of prints from foreign pious books."⁴⁹

Each painter borrowed in a different manner, according to his stature and artistic temperament. El Greco copied poses and gestures, or merely the pictorial ingredients, but rarely the composition, which he preferred to invent himself. Velázquez, on the other hand, not only took over poses of figures, but liked to base himself, whenever possible, on a foreign composition, a fact veiled only by his extraordinary capacity for assimilating the most divergent motifs. Angulo pointed out that Velázquez's imagination was guided by an intense feeling for the parallelism of forms, of shapes capable of being substituted for one another to fit the narrative.⁵⁰ Zurbarán, like Velázquez, usually followed a model composition closely. When a design had caught his fancy, he was apt to borrow it, even if it concerned an entirely different story requiring considerable, and sometimes bizarre, mutations. He often literally copied heads and gestures of one or several figures, and part of the architecture, but painted the rest according to his own invention, always succeeding in endowing his pictures with a deeply inspired religious feeling. Murillo, in his early works, copied rather faithfully, as did Cano and Espinosa. Castillo gleaned from prints, not composition or poses, but style and subject matter. The colonial painters as a rule followed prints, when they used them, quite precisely.

Knowledge of the concrete model from which a picture is derived often enables us to understand it better. Problems raised by its content may be solved, and its meaning and title revealed, as in the case of Zurbarán's *Council of Lyon* (Fig. 7).

By finding the model used by a painter, we gain a deeper insight into his creative processes and his artistic interests, the things he considered important, those he wished to do himself and those he was con-

tent to take from others. We also detect what Enrique Lafuente so fittingly has called "aesthetic allergies."⁵¹ These he defines as a sensitivity toward specific forms and aesthetics which appear, often inexplicably, in the work of certain artists or periods. Thus Velázquez, omitting for a moment the powerful influences by his contemporaries, Rubens and Ribera, felt the greatest affinity to Dürer, Michelangelo, and Greco, each of them seemingly in strong stylistic opposition to Don Diego's art. Zurbarán and his shop not only used engravings after his coeval Rubens, but Mannerist prints after Heemskerck, Marten de Vos, and Tempesta, and perhaps the wildly excited woodcuts by Gabriel Salmon, done more than a hundred years earlier. Baroque painting is usually and rightly understood as a reaction against Mannerism and a return to the broader, quieter, more classical forms of the Renaissance. It was also a fusion of revitalized elements from preceding periods, including the Middle Ages, with specifically Baroque innovations.

An important lesson may be derived for contemporary art, seeing that nowadays a fetish is made of originality at all costs. However, the truly great modern masters, such men as Picasso, Orozco, Matisse, Henry Moore, or Frank Lloyd Wright, are deeply indebted to art of other periods and countries. They are well aware of this fact, but just like El Greco, Velázquez, or Zurbarán, they are big enough to have assimilated foreign influences successfully, and to have achieved a personal style in which borrowed elements merge with new values springing from their own imagination.

It is important that other artists, and particularly the thousands of art students everywhere, realize that tradition is a positive value, which we cannot afford to discard entirely, and that total originality is a dream impossible of attainment. Neither should artists fall into the other extreme of aping the great leaders, slavishly following in their footsteps. They could do better by choosing a parallel path, that is to say, by imitating their methods, not their results.

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49. *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 1931, p. 66.

50. Velázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

51. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya*, Madrid, 1947, p. 46. This is one of the most important books on Goya ever written and of indispensable consultation for any one interested in the work of the Spanish painter.

A TENTATIVE "SHORT-TITLE" CHECK-LIST OF THE WORKS OF COL. JOHN TRUMBULL

THEODORE SIZER

II

IN THE last issue of the ART BULLETIN some account was given of the chief events in Trumbull's conveniently divisible life, abruptly punctuated by his long and short residence in London and by continental journeys. He was the earliest American college graduate to become a professional painter and, like Horatio Greenough, our first European-trained professional sculptor, was a Harvard man. At Cambridge he acquired much more than a sound academic education: friends, who were to be helpful in later years; French, from a family of displaced Arcadians; and some acquaintance with the fine arts, through prints and books in the College Library and the Copleys hanging in the Philosophical Chambers. His ability to speak French fluently was to make possible his intimacies with David, Vigée-Le Brun, and other Parisians. Their influence was at first hand. As a pupil of Benjamin West it is too often assumed that his style was developed exclusively on the British pattern. It is a pity that Trumbull did not follow Jefferson's intelligent and timely suggestion of an Italian sojourn. Correggio seen through the hand of West is still not Correggio. It is difficult to conceive what Copley and West might have been without their Italian studies. Italy might have given a breadth sadly lacking in the work of the "Patriot-Painter."

Nationalistic minded Germans prefer the work of the *echter deutscher* Dürer before it became affected by the "decadent" culture of Italy. Many of us are sometimes guilty of excessive admiration of simple American "primitiveness." Cultural ideas and technical precedent, however, cannot be confined within national boundaries. Trumbull, the New Englander, was a British-trained cosmopolitan who was as much at home in London as in Lebanon.

The tragedy of the bilingual, one-eyed Trumbull, was that most of his good work was produced before he was forty, and he lived to be eighty-eight. He absorbed little of what Europe had to offer after the year of the French Revolution. Though he died in 1843 he remained in thought, word, and deed a punctilious eighteenth-century gentleman. He, the painter of the American Revolution, was never the passionate revolutionist in the sense of a Goya or a Delacroix.

To turn to the illustrations: the portrait of little Jabez Huntington of Norwich, Connecticut, painted in 1777, is an excellent example of the artist's early New England manner (Fig. 2). This is as hard and unyielding as the granite of New London county. It is in striking contrast to the portrait of the son of the American Minister to Great Britain, Rufus King, Harvard 1777, painted twenty-four years later in the style of Benjamin West (Fig. 1). A third portrait, of a little boy, Philip Church, done in 1784, falls between the other two and is closer to West (Fig. 6). The utterly charming miniature (Fig. 5) of Trumbull's wild Italian friend, Ceracchi, shows the influence of another friend, the serene Vigée-Le Brun.

Trumbull, a man of property, was a thorough-going Hamiltonian Federalist. Alexander Hamilton's tragic and dramatic death in 1804 was a boon to his ardent admirer. Posthumous portraits (Fig. 4) based either on his 1792 portrait for Col. John Jay or Ceracchi's 1791 marble bust (Fig. 3) were turned out in quantities. It was like Gilbert Stuart and his "Athenaeum" Washington, which he called his "hundred dollar bill." Trumbull got the same for his Hamiltonian replicas.

Trumbull's happiest portraits were painted before the year 1800. Many executed after that pivotal date exist but are of interest chiefly on account of the subjects. The "Patriot-Painter" is important to us as a recorder and not as a master of the brush.

EXPLANATION

Capitalized names indicate *individual portraits* as distinguished from representations in *historical pieces*.

Portraits are painted in oils and are on canvas unless otherwise stated. A dozen or more are on wooden panels, less than a half-dozen on academy board, and a few early attempts on copper. Bust size is usually about 30 by 25 inches, and half-, three-quarter-, and full-lengths correspondingly greater.

Miniatures are painted in oils and are on wood (mahogany). All but a very few are cut oval in shape, about $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches. None, it should be noted, are painted in water colors on ivory; most fraudulent miniatures—which abound—are in this medium.



FIG. 1. John Trumbull, John Alsop King, son of Rufus King. Painted at London in 1801 (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)



FIG. 2. John Trumbull, Jabez Huntington. Painted in Connecticut twenty-four years earlier (Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery)

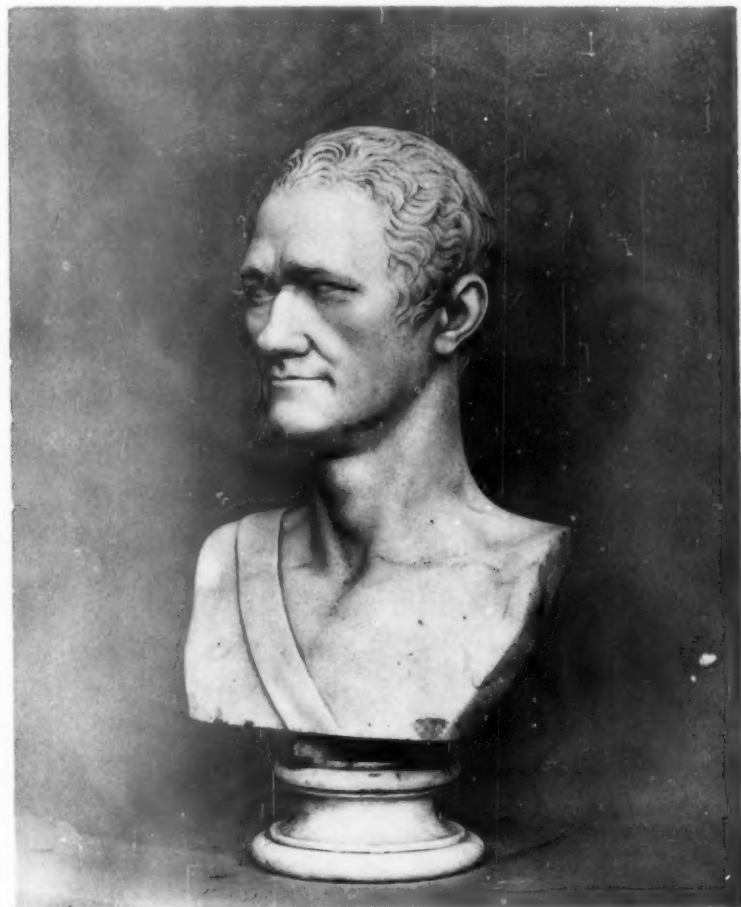


FIG. 3. Giuseppe Ceracchi, Alexander Hamilton (Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York)

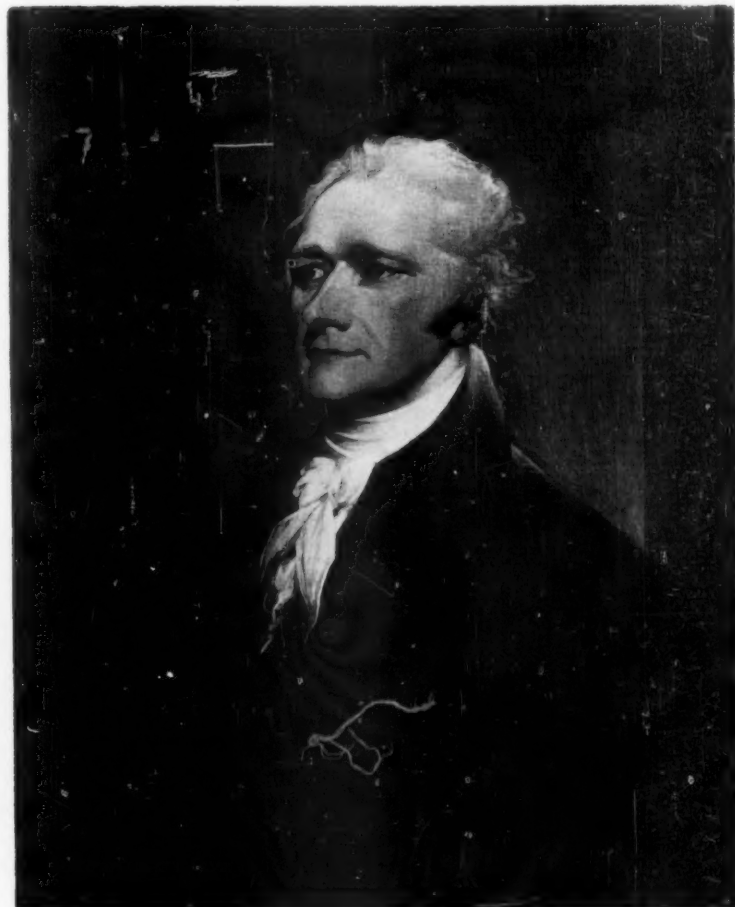


FIG. 4. John Trumbull, Alexander Hamilton. A posthumous portrait after the Ceracchi bust (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



FIG. 5. John Trumbull, Giuseppe Ceracchi, Italian sculptor (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



FIG. 6. John Trumbull, Philip Church, grandson of Gen. Philip Schuyler (Courtesy of Mr. Philip Schuyler Church)

Portrait sketches are on paper, usually in pencil. The heads, the chief source for those in the historical paintings, are approximately the same size as those in the miniatures. Many of these drawings were used, without change of size, for the portrait engravings.

Signatures are rare; only a few of the paintings are signed; some are also dated. Note is made of this except in the case of the too numerous drawings. None of the miniatures are signed or initialed, but some have notations in the artist's hand pasted on the back. Some of the drawings bear information as to time and place. Fraudulent paintings, miniatures, and drawings are usually signed or initialed and dated.

Historical pictures are designated by the following shortened forms. The numbers given after each portrait correspond to the key.

Bunker's Hill, "The Battle of Bunker's Hill," Boston, 17 June 1775.

Declaration, "The Declaration of Independence," Philadelphia, 4 July 1776.

Gibraltar, "The Sortie made by the Garrison of Gibraltar," 27 November 1781.

Princeton, "The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton," 3 January 1777.

Quebec, "The Death of General Montgomery, in the attack on Quebec," 31 December 1775.

Resignation, "The Resignation of General Washington," Annapolis, 23 December 1783.

Saratoga, "The Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga," 16 October 1777.

Trenton, "The Capture of the Hessians at Trenton," 26 December 1776.

Yorktown, "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown," 19 October 1781.

The *combat units* or staff assignments of officers represented in the battle pictures, at the time of the event, are indicated in so far as possible.

Abbreviated military titles are included only if the subject was painted in uniform. If the subject is in one of the historical pictures, the rank is that of the date of the event, otherwise it is that of the time the portrait was painted.

Civilian titles (governor, judge, representative, etc.), except ecclesiastical and medical, are omitted, as they too often require chronological qualifications.

Portraits of women are listed either under their maiden or married names, depending on when they were painted, and are cross-referenced in all but a few cases.

Foreign nationality is indicated.

Additional data, if available, have been added for *lost pictures*.

Since the artist painted chiefly prominent personages, other *biographical data* are omitted for the sake of brevity.

Note has been made of portraits and scenes used on United States *postage stamps* and *paper currency*—

whereby Trumbull's work has become familiar to millions. To cite all the *engravings*, on metal and wood, after the artist's paintings, confined even to those produced during his lifetime, would overburden this short-title list and is left for the *catalogue raisonné*.

Reference is made to the sixty-eight pictures, painted before 1779, listed in Trumbull's *Autobiography* (1841), pp. 59-62, many of which are now "found."

I repeat my observation in the first article (p. 216): attributions, where unsupported by documentary evidence, represent naught but my personal—and fallible—opinion.

CHECK-LIST

PART II

PORTRAITS

(A to M)

Lieut. Col. Robert Abercrombie, (1740-1827), (British), 37th Regt. of Foot, not from life, No. 13 in *Bunker's Hill*.

(Eliza Ackley, see Mrs. Joseph Constant).

JOHN ADAMS, (1735-1826), study, in oils (?), 1787 at London, for the following; lost.

John Adams, No. 31 in the *Declaration*.

JOHN ADAMS, miniature, 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.22.

—, bust, 1793 or 1794 at Boston (?); Harvard, No. H73.

—, bust, 1793 or 1794 at Boston (?); Mrs. Arthur Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.

Samuel Adams, (1722-1803), ca. 1790 at Boston, No. 7 in the *Declaration*.

MAJ. ROGER ALDEN, (1748?-1836), "small head," 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 34; lost.

(Sarah Allen, see Mrs. Julius Smith).

WILLIAM ALLEN, (1784-1868), miniature, 1827 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.73.

FISHER AMES, (1758-1808), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.31.

(Sarah Annis, see Mrs. Thomas Sully).

MISS S. (for SUSAN?) APTHORP, "small head," on oval copper plate, 1779 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 61; lost.

(Jane Arden, see Mrs. Alexander Hosack).

Maj. John Armstrong, (1758-1843), 4th North Carolina Regt., ca. 1816 at New York (?), No. 22 in *Saratoga*.

(Eunice Backus, see Mrs. Jonathan Trumbull, Junior).

GOLDSBOROUGH BANYER, (married 1801, d. 1806), half-length, 1806 at New York; Gerardus Banyer Clark, Columbus, Ohio.

- Capt. José Barboza, (d. 1781), Spanish Artillery, the "Dying Spaniard," not from life, No. 17 in *Gibraltar*.
- Admiral Louis, comte de Barras, (d. 1788), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 12 in *Yorktown*.
- JOSIAH BARTLETT, (1729-1795), pencil sketch, 1790 at Exeter, N.H., dated; New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N.H.
- , bust, before 1794; Hugh and Paul Bartlett, Hillsdale, Ill.
- Josiah Bartlett, from the sketch, No. 3 in the *Declaration*.
- WILLIAM BAYARD, (1761-1826), probably after 1816 and before 1826, (copy in New-York Historical Society); lost.
- EGBERT BENSON, (1746-1833), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.63.
- , miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Mrs. Arthur Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.
- ROBERT BENSON, (1739-1823), bust, 1804 at New York, signed and dated on back; New-York Historical Society, No. 58.
- CARDINAL GUIDO BENTIVOGLIO, (1579-1644), (Italian), bust, 1777 at Boston, Mass., after John Smibert's copy after Van Dyck, *Autobiography* No. 37; Harvard, No. H24.
- (duc de Biron, see duc de Lauzun).
- CAPT. L. (?), (SAMUEL ?) BLODGET, pencil sketch, before 1794; Yale, No. 1931.66.
- SAMUEL BLODGET, (1757-1814), small full-length, 1784 at London; Mrs. I. Harding Hughes, Raleigh, N.C.
- , "in rifle dress," 1786 at London; lost.
- ELIAS BOUDINOT, (1740-1821), half-length, ca. 1805 in New Jersey (?); Archibald S. Alexander, Bernardsville, N.J.
- (Elizabeth Bowdoin, see Lady Temple).
- (Marie Bowne, see Mrs. Samuel Osgood).
- (Eleanor Boyd, see Mrs. Theodore Dwight, Junior).
- Mlle. Grenier de Breda, (French), pencil drawing, 1786 in France; lost.
- MRS. ABRAHAM (DOROTHEA REMSON) BRINCKERHOFF, (1750-1834), half-length, ca. 1804 at New York; Remson Brinckerhoff, Englewood, N.J.
- , (DOROTHY REMSON) bust, ca. 1804 at New York; Mrs. Samuel Robinson Knight, Spring Lake, N.J.
- LIEUT. COL. JOHN BROOKS, (1752-1825), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.29.
- Lieut. Col. John Brooks, 8th Massachusetts Regt., from the above, No. 18 in *Saratoga*.
- JOHN BROWN, (1757-1837), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.34.
- WILLIAM BROWN, (1753-1816), half-length, 1804 or 1806 at Norwich, Conn.; Addison Gallery, Andover, Mass., No. 1930.381.
- , half-length, before 1808; probably at Norwich, Conn., Art Institute of Chicago, No. 23.920.
- DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM (JOHN TEMPLE GRENVILLE), (1753-1813), (British), full-length, begun at London, finished at New York 1828; Yale, No. 1845.1.
- JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM, (1779-1861), miniature, ca. 1825 at New York; Stephen Alvord Buckingham, Boston, on loan at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
- Lieut. Joseph Budworth, (1756-1815), (British), 72nd Regt. of Foot (Royal Manchester Volunteers), A.D.C. to Gen. Ross, (changed his name to Joseph Palmer in order to inherit his wife's estates), 1784-1787, at London, No. 15 in *Gibraltar*. (Mrs. Frederic Bull, see Mary Huntington Lanman and her sister, Abigail Lanman).
- WILLIAM GEDNEY BULL, (1781-1859), bust, 1820's at New York; W. Gedney Beatty, New York.
- Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, (1722-1792), (British), probably not from life, No. 11 in *Saratoga*.
- BRIG. GEN. RICHARD BUTLER, (1743-1791), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.78.
- Col. John Cadwalader, (1742-1786), Pennsylvania Militia, posthumous, No. 4 in *Princeton*.
- JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, (1782-1850), miniature, 1827 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.72.
- BEN CALL, "head size of life," 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 51; lost.
- Col. Donald Campbell, (d. ca. 1799), Deputy Quartermaster General, New York Dept., ca. 1790, No. 4 in *Quebec*.
- (Rachel Carmer, see Mrs. Robert Lenox).
- Catherine Carroll, (later Mrs. Robert Goodloe Harper), (1778-1861), probably not from life, No. 29 in the *Resignation*.
- Charles Carroll of "Carrollton," (1737-1832), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 16 in the *Declaration*.
- , No. 29 in the *Resignation*.
- (Mrs. Charles Carroll of "Homewood," see Harriet Chew).
- Mary (Molly) Carroll, (later Mrs. Richard Caton), (1770-1846), probably not from life, No. 29 in the *Resignation*.
- (Mrs. Richard Caton, see Mary Carroll).
- GIUSEPPE CERACCHI, (1751-1802), (Italian), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.40.
- , miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 36.35.
- CHARLES I (1600-1649), and JAMES II, (1633-1701), (British), "heads of two boys," after John Smibert's copy of Van Dyck, 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 38; lost.

Jeremiah Townley Chase, (1748-1828), *ca.* 1820 in Maryland (?), No. 19 in the *Resignation*.

SAMUEL CHASE, (1741-1811), pencil sketch, probably *ca.* 1790 in Maryland, (1st Silliman Sale, No. 50); lost.

Samuel Chase, probably from the above, No. 10 in the *Declaration*.

Maj. Gen. François Jean, marquis de Chastellux, (1734-1788), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 10 in *Yorktown*.

Capt. Jacob Cheeseman, A.D.C. to Gen. Montgomery, (killed in action at Quebec 1775), not from life, No. 2 in *Quebec*.

(Mrs. John Chenevard, see Julia Seymour).

HARRIET CHEW, (later Mrs. Charles Carroll of "Homewood"), (1775-1861), 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.59.

SOPHIA CHEW, (later Mrs. Henry Philips), (1769-1841), miniature, 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.58.

Lieut. Gen. Claude Gabriel de Choisy, (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 5 in *Yorktown*.

PHILIP CHURCH, (1778-1861), "small whole length," 1784 at London; Philip Schuyler Church, Dayton, Ohio.

—, "smaller copy of whole length," 1784 at London; lost.

MRS. JOHN BARKER (ANGELICA SCHUYLER) CHURCH, (married 1777), CHILD (PHILIP CHURCH) and SERVANT, 1784 at London; lost.

Col. Joseph Cilley, (1734-1799), 1st New Hampshire Regt., if from life before 1794, No. 2 in *Saratoga*.

Abraham Clark, (1726-1794), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 29 in the *Declaration*.

DR. JOHN CLARK, (?), (1728-1822), bust, *ca.* 1783 in Connecticut; Mrs. James B. Williams, Long Meadow, Mass.

MRS. JOHN (JERUSHA HUNTINGTON) CLARK, (?), (1731-1823), same as above.

JOHN INNES CLARKE, (1745-1808), half-length, *ca.* 1793 at Providence, R.I., Chauncey Stillman, Amenia, N.Y.

Maj. Matthew Clarkson, (1758-1825), *ca.* 1816 at New York (?), No. 26 in *Saratoga*.

DE WITT CLINTON, (1769-1828), half-length, 1805 at New York; City Hall, New York.

—, 1806 at New York; lost.

—, replica of City Hall version, 1807 at New York; Chamber of Commerce, New York.

—, replica, half-length, *ca.* 1824 (?) at New York; Museum of the City of New York.

MRS. DE WITT (CATHERINE JONES) CLINTON, (second wife, married 1819), half-length, to left, seated, in low neck dress, right arm resting on chair, 1806 at New York; lost.

GEORGE CLINTON, (1739-1812), full-length, 1791 at

New York, signed and dated; City Hall, New York.

George Clinton, probably from the above, No. 8 in the *Declaration*.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, (1738-1795), (British), between 1782 and 1786 at London, No. 12 in *Bunker's Hill*.

Brig. Gen. James Clinton, (1733-1812), Continental Army, *ca.* 1790 (?), before 1808, No. 23 in *Yorktown*.

George Clymer, (1739-1813), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 25 in the *Declaration*.

Lieut. Col. David Cobb, (1748-1830), A.D.C. to Gen. Washington, *ca.* 1790 at Massachusetts (?), No. 21 in *Yorktown*.

REV. WILLIAM COCHRAN, (1754 to 1757-1833), half-length, *ca.* 1770 at New York; Columbia University, New York.

GEORGE CODWISE, (died before 1815), half-length, *ca.* 1805 at New York; lost.

MRS. GEORGE (MARIA VAN RANST) CODWISE, (baptized 1740, married 1760), same as above.

JAMES CODWISE, (baptized 1772, married 1797), half-length, *ca.* 1805 at New York; private collection, Boston, Mass.

MRS. JAMES (REBECCA ROGERS) CODWISE; same as above.

I. B. COLES, 1805 at New York; lost.

JOSEPH CONSTANT, (1773-1819), half-length, *ca.* 1816 at New York; Mrs. Walter Rumsey Marvin, Columbus, Ohio.

MRS. JOSEPH (ELIZA ACKLEY, originally Aclée) CONSTANT, (married 1778); same as above.

MAJ. SAMUEL COOPER, (d. 1840), "formerly Captain in the Artillery of the U.S., 72 Old, full of Colour—White hair—dressed in Black," 1828 at Norwich, Conn. (?); lost.

1st. Lieut. Samuel Cooper, 2nd Connecticut Regt., (killed in action at Quebec 1775), posthumous, No. 11 in *Quebec*.

1st. Lieut. William Cuppage, (British), Royal Regt. of Artillery, 1784-1787 at London, No. 11 in *Gibraltar*.

Commander Sir Roger Curtis, (1746-1816), (British), 1784-1787 at London, No. 3 in *Gibraltar*.

SAMUEL CURZON, of Baltimore, 1786 at London; lost. Brigadier Adam Philippe, comte de Custine, (1740-1793), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 3 in *Yorktown*.

Elizabeth Parke Custis, (later Mrs. Thomas B. Law), (1776-1822), probably not from life, No. 30 in *Resignation*.

ELEANOR (NELLY) PARKE CUSTIS, (later Mrs. Lawrence Lewis), (1779-1852), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.55.

- , miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Edward Gray Butler, Boyce, Va.
- Eleanor Parke Custis, probably not from life, No. 30 in the *Resignation*.
- Martha Parke Custis, (later Mrs. Thomas Peter), (1777-1854), probably not from life, No. 30 in the *Resignation*.
- MR. CUTLER, "small," 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 43; lost.
- TRISTAM DALTON, (1738-1817), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.41.
- Col. Joseph François Louis Charles, comte de Damas, (1758-1829), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 9 in *Yorktown*.
- BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE, (1773 or 1774-1802), Secretary to Rufus King, American Legation, London, bust, to left, dark hair, sideburns, white neck cloth, ca. 1800 at London; lost.
- , (?), half-length, similar to the above; Mrs. H. S. Suits, Kirkwood, Missouri.
- THOMAS DAWES, "head," 1779 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 66; lost.
- Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, (1751-1829), 3rd New Hampshire Regt., ca. 1790 (?), No. 7 in *Saratoga*.
- CAPT. DANIEL DELEVAN, (1757-1835), but, ca. 1805 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 180.
- ELIAS HASKET DERBY, (1766-1825), bust, ca. 1805; Dr. Richard Derby, Oyster Bay, N.Y.
- Col. Christien, marquis des Deux-Ponts, (?), (b. 1752), or Col. Guillaume, marquis des Deux-Ponts, (?), (b. 1754), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 1 in *Yorktown*.
- John Dickinson, (1732-1808), ca. 1792 at Philadelphia, No. 45 in the *Declaration*.
- Brig. Gen. Philemon Dickinson, (1739-1809), New Jersey Militia, ca. 1790, No. 13 in *Trenton*.
- JAMES DUANE, (1733-1797), bust, 1805 at New York, copied from the Robert Edge Pine portrait now in the New-York Historical Society; City Hall, New York.
- ASHER BROWN DURAND, (1796-1886), half-length, on wood, 1826 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 216.
- HENRY WILLIAMS DWIGHT, (1788-1845), miniature, 1827 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.71.
- THEODORE DWIGHT, SENIOR, (1764-1846), bust, 1828 at New York, "high expansive forehead almost bald—a little white hair—sallow complexion—peculiar black penetrating Eye—Dress Black—background Umber and white—architecture—Five Sitings"; lost.
- THEODORE DWIGHT, JUNIOR, (1796-1866), half-length, on academy board, 1828 at New York; The Misses Ferris, Bronxville, N.Y.
- MRS. THEODORE (ELEANOR BOYD) DWIGHT, JUNIOR, (1805-1870), same as above.
- REV. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, (1752-1817), bust, 1807 at New York; Yale, No. 1948.5.
- , replica, three-quarter length, posthumous, 1817 at New York; Yale, No. 1817.1.
- , (?), late replica, half-length, Mrs. Arthur Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.
- (Amelia Dyer, see Mrs. Joseph Trumbull).
- ELIPHALET DYER, (1721-1807), half-length, ca. 1777 at Windham or Lebanon, Conn.; Windham Free Library Assn., Windham, Conn.
- JAMES DYER, Benjamin West's body servant, (British), "head," 1784 at London; lost.
- , "large head," 1784 at London; lost.
- , "small full length—in the uniform of the Horse Grenadier Guards, with his horse"; lost.
- LIEUT. GEN. GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT, later LORD HEATHFIELD and BARON OF GIBRALTAR, (1717-1790), (British), drawing, 1784-1787 at London, (1st Silliman Sale No. 105); lost.
- Lieut. Gen. George Augustus Eliott, Governor of Gibraltar, from the above, No. 1 in *Gibraltar*.
- WILLIAM ELLERY, (1727-1820), pencil sketch, 1791 at Newport, R.I., dated, (1st Silliman Sale No. 47); lost.
- William Ellery, before 1794, probably from above, No. 24 in the *Declaration*.
- , same, No. 18 in the *Resignation*.
- EDWARD ELLICE, (British), "head," before 1815 at London, (probably Edward Ellis, senior, 1781-1863, merchant and M.P.); lost.
- "MR. ELLIS, an English merchant," (1844 auction sale No. 17, purchased by "Lanman"), probably the above; lost (?).
- "MR. ELIS, now a member of Parliament, taken when young," (1844 auction sale No. 21), probably Edward Ellice, Junior, 1810-1880, M.P., son of the above, before 1815 at London; lost.
- WILLIAM ELLICE, water-colorist, (British), half-length, ca. 1800 at London; (compare with "Mr. Palmer an Artist of London"); Jonathan Trumbull Lanman, New York.
- OLIVER ELLSWORTH, (1745-1807), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Yale, No. 1832.44.
- Lieut. Col. Benjamin G. Eyre, (d. 1781), 2nd Battalion (Philadelphia) Pennsylvania Militia, No. 8 in *Princeton*.
- WILLIAM FARNUM, (1760-1829), half-length, 1784 at London; Miss Louisa Farnham Cobb, Barnstable, Mass.
- Col. Hans Axel, comte de Fersen, (1755-1810), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 8 in *Yorktown*.
- Maj. Nicholas Fish, (1758-1833), 2nd New York Regt., before 1794, No. 34 in *Yorktown*.
- JOHN FLOYD, (?), bust, to left, high collar, white neck cloth, ca. 1820 in New York (?); lost.

- William Floyd, (1734-1821), *ca.* 1791, No. 13 in the *Declaration*.
- Abiel Foster, (1735-1806), before 1794, No. 11 in the *Resignation*.
- DR. JOHN WAKEFIELD FRANCIS, (1789-1861), half-length, 1819 at New York; Presbyterian Hospital, New York.
- BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, (1706-1790), "head, a fur cap," from an engraving, 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 39; lost.
- Benjamin Franklin, 1790 at Philadelphia, No. 35 in the *Declaration*.
- (——, see *Treaty with France*).
- (Maria Franklin, see Mrs. DeWitt Clinton).
- (Mrs. Walter Franklin, see Mrs. Samuel Osgood).
- WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN, (*ca.* 1760-1823), miniature, 1790 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.24.
- Lieut. Edward Boscawen Frederick, (b. 1762), (British), 72nd Regt. of Foot (Royal Manchester Volunteers), A.D.C. to Gen. Ross, 1784-1787 at London, No. 14 in *Gibraltar*.
- ROBERT FULTON, (?), (1765-1815), half-length, before 1797 at London (?); Museum of the City of New York, No. 41.425.
- MISS (?) GALE, (later Mrs. Jonathan Trumbull Hudson), half-length, 1828 at Hartford (?); Mrs. Elizabeth McK. Hudson, Stamford, Conn., (in 1901).
- GEORGE GALLAGHER, (b. 1786), half-length, on wood, 1826 at New York; Dr. Joseph Gardner Hopkins, New York.
- Col. Thomas Gardner, Massachusetts Regt., (mortally wounded at Bunker's Hill 1775), from memory, No. 4 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- MAJ. GEN. HORATIO GATES, (1728-1806), pencil sketch, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 35); Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 06.1346.1.
- Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, from above, No. 14 in *Saratoga*.
- CORNELIUS VAN DER GEEST, (1577-1647), (Dutch), copied after the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, now in the National Gallery, London, (there known as "Gervartius" until 1864), *ca.* 1815 at London, hands added by Trumbull; New-York Historical Society, No. 68.
- GEORGE III, (1738-1820), "small head," 1784 at London, copy after Benjamin West; lost.
- Elbridge Gerry, (1744-1814), *ca.* 1789, No. 20 in the *Declaration*.
- , No. 3 in the *Resignation*.
- (Gervartius or "Govitus," see Cornelius van der Geest).
- Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist, (1742-1792), Continental Army, *ca.* 1790, No. 24 in *Yorktown*.
- BRIG. GEN. JOHN GLOVER, (1732-1797), sketch, 1794 at Marblehead, Mass., (1st Silliman Sale No. 38); lost.
- Col. John Glover, 14th Continental Infantry, before 1797, probably from above, No. 14 in *Trenton*.
- Brig. Gen. John Glover, Continental Army, same, No. 24 in *Saratoga*.
- (William Giles Goddard, see "Portrait of an Unknown Man").
- CHAUNCEY GOODRICH, (1759-1815), bust, *ca.* 1804 at Hartford, Conn. (?); Mrs. Willard H. Durham, Berkeley, Calif.
- CHAUNCEY ALLEN GOODRICH, (1790-1860), bust, on wood, 1827 at New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Chauncey W. Goodrich, D.D., Brunswick, Maine.
- CHRISTOPHER GORE, (1758-1827), half-length, 1800 at London; Yale, No. 1832.18.
- , on wood, half-length, 1800 at London; Massachusetts Historical Society.
- , half-length, *ca.* 1800 at London; Harvard, No. H56.
- , (?), bust, after 1800 at London; Gore Place, Waltham, Mass.
- , bust, after 1815; Mrs. Edward King Davis, Tuxedo Park, N.Y.
- MRS. CHRISTOPHER (REBECCA AMORY PAYNE) GORE, (1759-1834), bust, *ca.* 1800 at London; John Morse Elliot, Boston, Mass.
- (——, see "Portrait of a Lady").
- (Mrs. William Gracie, see Elizabeth Stoughton Wolcott).
- EDWARD GRAY, (d. 1805 or 1806?), "size of life," 1777 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 41; lost.
- MRS. EDWARD (possibly MARY PADDOCK? d. 1789) GRAY, same as above, *Autobiography* No. 42; lost.
- Admiral François Joseph Paul, comte de Grasse-Tilly, (1723-1788), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 13 in *Yorktown*.
- Col. John Greaton, (1741-1783), 3rd Massachusetts Regt., posthumous, No. 6 in *Saratoga*.
- MAJ. GEN. NATHANIEL GREENE, (1742-1786), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, "from the only original picture remaining," probably after C. W. Peale's 1783 portrait, (a miniature, artist not given, was in Trumbull's possession at his death—1844 auction sale No. 25), signed and dated on back; (used on U.S. postage stamp, No. 785, 1¢, green, 1936). Yale, No. 1832.25.
- , same, replica of the above; Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I.
- , drawing, 1792 at Philadelphia, (1st Silliman Sale No. 36); lost.
- Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene, from above, No. 11 in *Trenton*.
- (John Temple Grenville, see Duke of Buckingham).
- LIEUT. COL. JOHN FAUCHERAUD GRIMKÉ, (1752-

- 1819), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.54.
(Elizabeth Grimké, see Mrs. John Rutledge).
2nd Lieut. Thomas Grosvenor, (1744-1825), 3rd Connecticut Regt., before 1786, No. 9 in *Bunker's Hill*.
——, in "Lieutenant Grosvenor and his negro servant," study for *Bunker's Hill*.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON, (1757-1804), "Jay Type," painted for John Jay, 1792 at Washington; Mrs. Arthur (Eleanor Jay) Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.
——, replica, full-length, in gray coat, from above in 1792; Chamber of Commerce, New York.
——, later replica, bust; Essex Institute, Salem.
——, replica, bust, but coat dark, after 1804; Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 81.11.
——, replica, bust; for Gov. Wolcott; lost.
——, replica, bust, 1832 at New York; Yale, No. 1832.11.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON, "Ceracchi type," posthumous, (from one of Giuseppi Ceracchi's marble busts of 1791), full-length, in black coat, 1804 at New York; City Hall, New York (head from full-length portrait used on:
\$1,000 gold notes, series of 1907, 1922 and 1928
\$1,000 Federal Reserve note, series of 1918
\$50 certificate of indebtedness, series of 1907
\$10 National currency, series of 1929
\$10 Federal Reserve notes, series of 1928, and 1934
\$10 silver certificates, series of 1933, and 1934).
——, replica, bust, 1806 at New York; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., No. 94.167.
——, replica, bust, 1806 at New York; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Washington, D.C.
——, replica, bust, 1806 at New York; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., No. NGA 494.
——, replica, "head," 1806 at New York, "Received from J. P. Davis of Boston (Isaac P. Davis, 1771-1855, of Boston ?) —\$100"; probably one of the above or following; lost (?).
——, replica, bust, 1804-1808 at New York; New-York Historical Society, No. 319.
——, replica, bust, 1804-1808 at New York, presented by the artist to David B. Ogden in 1829; Henry Ford, III, Detroit, Mich.
——, late replica, bust with hand, at New York; Albert H. Wiggin, New York.
——, late replica, bust, at New York; Alexander Hamilton and Pierpont Morgan Hamilton, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., on loan at the Museum of the City of New York.
——, (type unknown), "Feby. 19th. Recd. of Mr. Vaughan for Hamilton's portrait—£31"; possibly one of the above, lost (?).
Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton, principal A.D.C. to Gen. Washington, ca. 1790, No. 31 in *Yorktown*.
A. (ABIJAH ?) HAMMOND, (Abijah, Lieut. Continental Artillery, d. 1832), 1806 at New York; lost.
GEORGE HAMMOND, (1763-1853), (British), miniature, 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.23.
——, (?); Miss Hammond, London.
JOHN HANCOCK, (1736-1793), pencil sketch, 1790 at Boston, Mass., (1st Silliman Sale No. 48); lost.
John Hancock, probably from the above, No. 43 in the *Declaration*.
Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, (1744-1802), Adjutant-General Continental Army, ca. 1790 in Pennsylvania (?), No. 26 in *Yorktown*.
Lieut. Col. Hugo Hanoverian, (British), 1784-1787 at London, No. 4 in *Gibraltar*.
Maj. John Hardy, (British), 56th Regt. of Foot, 1784-1787 at London, No. 7 in *Gibraltar*.
Samuel Hardy, (1758-1785), posthumous, No. 20 in the *Resignation*.
(Mrs. Robert Goodloe Harper, see Catherine Carroll).
Benjamin Harrison, (1726?-1791), "from description aided by memory," No. 5 in *Declaration*.
Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison, (1745-1790), military secretary to Gen. Washington, from memory, No. 7 in *Trenton*.
(tracing of head; Yale, No. 1947.504)
MAJ. ELNATHAN HASKELL, (1755-1825), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.61.
1st. Lieut. Elnathan Haskell, Adjutant, 14th Massachusetts Regt., from above, No. 21 in *Saratoga*.
Benjamin Hawkins, (1754-1818), ca. 1790, No. 10 in the *Resignation*.
2nd Lieut. Louis Hay, (d. 1799), (British), Royal Engineers, 1784-1787 at London, No. 16 in *Gibraltar*.
(Lord Heathfield, see Gen. George Augustus Eliott).
(Capt. Helmstadt, see Baron Von Helmstadt).
Capt. William Hendricks, Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion, (died of wounds received at Quebec 1776), posthumous, No. 8 in *Quebec*.
BISHOP OF HEREFORD, (British), (probably John Luxmore, bishop 1808-1815), before 1815 in England; lost.
Joseph Hewes, (1730-1779), posthumous, No. 26 in the *Declaration*.
Thomas Heywood, Junior, (1746-1809), 1793 in Charleston, S.C., No. 15 in the *Declaration*.
("Ralph Hickley," see Ralph Kirkley).
CHAPLAIN ENOS HITCHCOCK, (1744-1803), drawing, 1791 in New England (?); Yale, No. 1931.64.
Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, 10th Massachusetts Regt., from the above, No. 19 in *Saratoga*.
COL. BENJAMIN HITCHBOURN, (also HICHBORN), (1746-1817), "half-length," 1779 at Boston, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 65; lost.

REV. EDWARD HOLYOKE, (1689-1769), after J. S. Copley, 1772-1773 at Cambridge, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 9; lost.

William Hooper, (1742-1790), ca. 1789, No. 22 in the *Declaration*.

("John Hopkins," see Stephen Hopkins).

DR. LEMUEL HOPKINS, (1750-1801), miniature, 1793 at Hartford, Conn.; Yale, No. 1832.68.

—, half-length, ca. 1793 at Hartford (?); Yale, No. 1914.1.

—, replica, half-length, posthumous, 1827 at New York; Dr. Joseph Gardner Hopkins, New York.

MARY ELIZABETH HOPKINS, daughter of the following, married Samuel Gordon Ver Planck 1826, bust, ca. 1805 at New York; Miss Jane Lesley Ver Planck, Geneva, N.Y.

SAMUEL MILES HOPKINS, (1772-1837), bust, ca. 1805 at New York; Dr. Joseph Gardner Hopkins, New York.

MRS. SAMUEL MILES (SARAH ELIZABETH ROGERS) HOPKINS, (1774-1866), same as above.

STEPHEN HOPKINS, (1707-1785), pencil sketch, posthumous, 1796, (1st Silliman Sale No. 49); Fordham.

Stephen Hopkins, from the above, No. 23 in the *Declaration*.

Francis Hopkinson, (1737-1791), ca. 1790, No. 30 in the *Declaration*.

HOPOTHLE-MICO, Creek Indian chief, pencil sketch, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 66); Fordham.

ALEXANDER HOSACK, (1736-1796), bust, probably posthumous, ca. 1805; John Hampton Barnes, Jr., Middletown, Delaware.

MRS. ALEXANDER (JANE ARDEN) HOSACK, (1743-1828), half-length, ca. 1805 at New York; Connecticut Historical Society, No. 140.

DR. DAVID HOSACK, (1769-1835), half-length, on wood, 1806 at New York; New York Hospital, New York.

LIEUT. COL. JOHN EAGER HOWARD, (1752-1827), pencil sketch, 1792 at Philadelphia, (1st Silliman Sale No. 44); lost.

Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard, from above, No. 28 in the *Resignation*.

Maj. Gen. Sir William Howe, K.B. (1729-1814), (British), if from life before 1786 at London, (after West?), No. 11 in *Bunker's Hill*.

DAVID HOWELL, (1747-1824), pencil drawing, 1793 at Newport, R.I.; lost.

—, miniature; lost.

David Howell, after drawing, No. 14 in the *Resignation*.

(Henrietta Trumbull Hubbard, see below).

OLIVER PAYSON HUBBARD, (1809-1900), his wife, FAITH WADSWORTH SILLIMAN, (1812-1887), and

their daughter, HENRIETTA TRUMBULL (1838-1891), group, 1839 at New Haven, Conn., signed and dated on back; Mrs. James M. Kennedy, Superior, Wisconsin.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL HUDSON, (1805-1852), half-length, 1828 at Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. Elizabeth McK. Hudson, Stratford, Conn., (in 1901).

(Mrs. Jonathan Trumbull, see Miss Gale).

ROBERT BALL HUGHES, (1806-1868), bust, probably 1839 at New Haven, Conn.; Frederick R. Brown, Chestertown, Maryland.

MRS. ROBERT BALL (ELIZA WRIGHT) HUGHES, (1807-1892), bust, on academy board, 1839 at New Haven, Conn.; Mrs. J. Reid Johnson, New London, Conn.

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM HULL, (1753-1825), miniature, 1790 at Boston, Mass., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.26.

Maj. William Hull, 8th Massachusetts Regt., from above, No. 5 in *Saratoga*.

"Lieut. Humphries," (either 2nd Lieut. William Humphrey, Varnum's Rhode Island Regt., taken prisoner at Quebec or 1st Lieut. John Humphries, Morgan's Company of Virginia Riflemen, killed in action at Quebec), No. 10 in *Quebec*.

Lieut. Col. David Humphreys, (1752-1818), A.D.C. to Gen. Washington ca. 1800 at London (?), No. 24 in the *Resignation*.

GEN. DAVID HUMPHREYS, bust, before 1818; Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1848.8.

—, (?); Frank Milton Humphreys, New Canaan, Conn. (in 1892); lost.

Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Huntington, (1754-1834), 3rd Connecticut Regt., before 1794 at Norwich, Conn., No. 29 in *Yorktown*.

BRIG. GEN. EBENEZER HUNTINGTON, bust, ca. 1806 at Norwich, Conn.; Roger Wolcott, Milton, Mass.

—, replica, bust, on wood; Oliver Wolcott, Hamilton, Mass.

—, 1835, possibly the above; lost.

—, (?), miniature; Miss S. H. Perkins, Norwich, Conn. (in 1895).

("Gen. E. Huntington (?)," See Brig. Gen. Samuel Blachley Webb).

MAJ. GEN. JABEZ HUNTINGTON, (1719-1786), full-length, 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 27; Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Conn.

JABEZ HUNTINGTON, (1767-1848), (grandson of above), bust, 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., *Autobiography* No. 36; Yale, No. 1938.272.

JEDEDIAH HUNTINGTON, (1743-1818), miniature, ca. 1790 in Connecticut; Connecticut Historical Society, No. 125.

(Jerusha Huntington, see Mrs. John Clark).

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON, (b. 1751), pencil sketch, ca. 1808 at Norwich, Conn., (?); lost.

- Samuel Huntington, (1731-1796), *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 39 in the *Declaration*.
- HYSAC, or "THE WOMAN'S MAN," Indian chief, pencil study, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 68); lost.
- THE INFANT, CHIEF OF THE SENECA INDIANS, miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.32.
- RALPH IZARD, (1742-1804), miniature, 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.53.
- (James II, see Charles I).
- JOHN JAY, (1745-1829), miniature, 1793 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.21.
- , bust, 1794 or 1795 at London; Mrs. Arthur (Eleanor Jay) Iselin, Katonah, N.Y.
- , full-length, 1805 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- (——, head by Gilbert Stuart, *ca.* 1782 at London, balance by Trumbull, three-quarter-length, *ca.* 1785 at London; John Clarkson Jay, New York). (Mary Rutherford Jay, see Mrs. Frederick Prime).
- THOMAS JEFFERSON, (1743-1826), miniature, 1786 at Paris; Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 24.19.2.
- , miniature, 1787 at Paris; Estate of Edmund Jefferson Banks, Boston, Mass.
- , replica, miniature (?), 1788 at London, for Mrs. Richard (Maria) Cosway; lost.
- , replica, miniature (?), 1788 at London, for Mrs. John Barker (Angelica Schuyler) Church; lost.
- , bust, (?); Hon. Mrs. Wentworth Cheywyne, London, England.
- Thomas Jefferson, 1787 at Paris, No. 34 in the *Declaration*.
- , after 1816 from one of the above, No. 12 in the *Resignation*.
- Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, (1723-1790), probably posthumous, No. 31 in the *Resignation*.
- JOHN, A CREEK INDIAN CHIEF, pencil sketch, 1790 at New York, (1st Silliman Sale No. 64); Yale, No. 1947.496.
- CHARLES KING, (1789-1867), bust, 1801 at London; Mrs. Joseph H. (Alice King) Bigley, Elizabeth, N.J.
- EDWARD KING, (1795-1836), bust, 1801 at London; Rufus King, New York.
- JAMES GORE KING, (1791-1853), bust, 1801 at London; Joseph Larocque, Jr., Bernardsville, N.J.
- JOHN ALSOP KING, (1788-1867), bust, 1801 at London; New-York Historical Society, No. 432.
- RUFUS KING, (1755-1827), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.30.
- , bust, 1800 at London; Yale, No. 1832.17.
- , bust, 1800 at London; Charles King Lennig, Langhorne, Penn.
- MRS. RUFUS (MARY ALSOP) KING, (1769-1819), half-length, same as above.
- , replica, 1820 at New York; lost.
- RALPH KIRKLEY, Sir Joshua Reynolds' body servant, (British), half-length, *ca.* 1800 at London; Mrs. David H. Lanman, Bellport, Long Island, N.Y.
- Capt. Thomas Knowlton, (1740-1776), 3rd Connecticut Regt., posthumous, No. 6 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- Brig. Gen. Henry Knox, (1750-1806), Chief of Artillery Continental Army, *ca.* 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 12 in *Trenton*.
- , same as above, No. 28 in *Yorktown*.
- 2nd Lieut. George Frederic Koehler, (d. 1800), (British), Royal Regt. of Artillery, 1784-1787 at London, No. 13 in *Gibraltar*.
- Maj. Gen. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de Lafayette, (1757-1834), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 19 in *Yorktown*.
- JOHN LANGDON, (1741-1819), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.33.
- MARY HUNTINGTON LANMAN (later Mrs. Frederic Bull), (1804-*ca.* 1879), and her sister, ABIGAIL TRUMBULL LANMAN, (1806-*ca.* 1870), double portrait, *ca.* 1824 at Norwich, Conn.; Estate of Frederic Bull, New Canaan, Conn.
- DAVID TRUMBULL LANMAN, (1802-1866), bust, 1820's at New York; Miss Elizabeth D. Robinson, Wakefield, R.I.
- PETER LANMAN, (1771-1854), half-length, on wood, 1828 at Norwich, Conn.; Yale, No. 1941.75.
- MRS. PETER (ABIGAIL TRUMBULL) LANMAN, (1781-1861), half-length, on wood, 1828 at Norwich, Conn.; Yale, No. 1941.76.
- (Jane Eliza Lathrop, see Mrs. Jonathan G. W. Trumbull).
- JOHN LAURENCE, (1750-1810), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; New-York Historical Society, No. 450.
- HENRY LAURENS, SENIOR, (1724-1792), miniature, 1791 at Charleston, S.C., signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.20.
- (Mrs. Henry Laurens, Junior, see Eliza Rutledge).
- Lieut. Col. John Laurens, (1754-1782), A.D.C. to Gen. Washington, posthumous, No. 32 in *Yorktown*.
- Brigadier, duc de Lauzun, (after 1788 known as Amand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Biron), 1747-1793, (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 4 in *Yorktown*.
- Brigadier Matthieu Paul Louis, vicomte de Laval, (later, comte de Montmorency), (1748-1809), (French), 1787 at Paris, No. 2 in *Yorktown*.
- (Mrs. Thomas B. Law, see Elizabeth Parke Custis).
- SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, (1769-1830), (British), head, pencil sketch, for the "Dying Spaniard" (José Bar-

- boza) in Gibraltar, 1789 at London; Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
- ARTHUR LEE, (1740-1792), miniature, 1790 at New York, signed and dated on back; Yale, No. 1832.79.
- Arthur Lee, from above, No. 13 in the *Resignation*.
- Billy Lee, in the 1780 portrait of Washington.
- Richard Henry Lee, (1732-1794), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 6 in the *Declaration*.
- LIEUT. LE FIEVRE (French), sketch, (1st Silliman Sale, No. 127, as "Lt. L'Fever Dying"); lost.
- ROBERT LENOX, (1759-1839), half-length, 1805 at New York; New York Public Library.
- , half-length, 1806 at New York; private collection, Boston, Mass.
- MRS. ROBERT (RACHEL CARMER) LENOX, (1763-1843), half-length, 1805 at New York; New York Public Library.
- , half-length, 1806 at New York; private collection, Boston, Mass.
- KATHERINE LENTNER, (ca. 1807-after 1843), bust, 1836 at New York; Mrs. John Proudfoot, Mobile, Alabama.
- , bust, 23 by 20½ inches, late 1830's at New York; lost.
- MISS LENTNER AND HER SISTERS, (group portrait ?), 1836 at New York; lost.
- Capt. Hon. William Leslie, 17th Regt. of Foot, (British), (killed at Princeton 1776), No. 7, in *Princeton*.
- "Col. Joseph Lewis," Chief of the Oneida Indians, before 1786, not from life, No. 6 in *Quebec*.
- Francis Lewis, (1713-1803), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 37 in the *Declaration*.
- (Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, see Eleanor Parke Custis).
- MRS. LAWRENCE (ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS) LEWIS, (1779-1852), bust, ca. 1816; in the Music Room at "Mount Vernon," Virginia.
- Col. Morgan Lewis, (1754-1844), Deputy Quartermaster General, Northern Department, ca. 1790 (?) at New York (?), No. 9 in *Saratoga*.
- MORGAN LEWIS, full-length, 1808 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, (1733-1810), ca. 1790 at Boston (?), No. 15 in *Yorktown*.
- (Hannah Lindley, see Mrs. John Murray).
- MAJ. WILLIAM LITHGOW, (1750?-1796), pencil sketch, 1791 at Boston; Yale, No. 1931.63.
- Maj. William Lithgow, 11th Massachusetts Regt. from above, No. 1 in *Saratoga*.
- SAMUEL LIVERMORE, (1732-1803), miniature, 1792 at Philadelphia; Yale, No. 1832.76.
- , same, Currier Gallery of Art; Manchester, N.H.
- EDWARD LIVINGSTON, (1764-1836), bust, 1805 at New York; City Hall, New York.
- JOHN LIVINGSTON, (?), (1750-1822), bust, ca. 1816 at New York; Miss Alida Livingston, Oyster Bay, Long Island, N.Y.
- Philip Livingston, (1716-1778), posthumous, No. 48 in the *Declaration*.
- Robert R. Livingston, (1746-1813), ca. 1790 at New York (?), No. 33 in the *Declaration*.
- Edward Lloyd, (1744-1796), probably posthumous, No. 8 in the *Resignation*.
- JOHN LOCKE, (1632-1704), (British), from a print, 1772-1773 at Cambridge, Mass., *Autobiography* No. 11; lost.
- (John Luxmore, see Bishop of Hereford).
- THOMAS LYNCH, (1749-1779), pencil sketch, posthumous; Yale, No. 1931.68.
- Thomas Lynch, from above, No. 4 in the *Declaration*.
- Maj. Andrew McClary, (ca. 1730—killed at Bunker's Hill 1775), 1st New Hampshire Regt., posthumous, No. 7 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- Chaplain Samuel McClintock, (1732-1804), 2nd New Hampshire Regt., not from life, No. 10 in *Bunker's Hill*.
- Eleazer McComb, (d. 1798), probably posthumous, No. 6 in the *Resignation*.
- JANE MC CREA, (murdered 1777), pencil sketch, posthumous; Hall Park McCullough, New York.
- Thomas McKean, (1734-1817), ca. 1790 at Philadelphia (?), No. 47 in the *Declaration*.
- Capt. Alexander McKensie, (British), 73rd Regt. of (Highland) Foot, 1784-1787 at London, No. 12 in *Gibraltar*.
- Capt. John McPherson, (1754—killed in action at Quebec 1775), A.D.C. to Gen. Montgomery, posthumous, No. 3 in *Quebec*.
- (Part III of this Check-List, covering the remainder of Trumbull's portraits, will appear in a subsequent issue of the ART BULLETIN.)

TOWARD A REINTERPRETATION OF CUBISM

WINTHROP JUDKINS

IN APPROACHING the paintings of the Cubists, we must turn our attention to the specific and irreducible details, one by one and side by side. For here only can we expect to gain insight into what the artist is specifically concerned with during the actual process of painting; to witness the very procedure of abstraction itself; in fact to discover in accomplished form what appears to be a fundamental, if not a predominant, objective in these works.

This objective has not been given any substantial consideration in the literature on the subject to date. In fact the proportion of that literature which has specifically come to grips with the actual bones and marrow of these paintings is surprisingly small. Nor can we avoid noting the implied willingness to move on, without sufficient foundation, not only to descriptions of the intended effects in these paintings but even to appraisals of the significance of the movement as a whole. In any case it will be of value, before proceeding with our thesis, to sum up briefly the existing literature on this primary phase of the subject:

Perhaps the most widely discussed aspect of the abstraction practiced by these painters is the liberty taken by the artist in pulling his objects to pieces and then rebuilding the pieces into an independent composition. Put in terms of a concept of space, this procedure is described as a placing side by side on the canvas of views of objects or parts of objects taken from an unrestricted range of observation points,¹ not excluding the orthographic views of plan, elevation, and section.² This concept is then

1. For the clearest account of this aspect of Cubism see J. J. Sweeney, *Plastic Redirections in Twentieth Century Painting*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934, *passim*.

2. Mention probably should be made also of the factor of "reconstitution in time" which carries this concept even a step further. (Although this particular phrase seems to be a matter of common parlance, I have not yet been able to locate its source. The closest in meaning is the term "simultaneity" discussed, among other places, in A. H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1946, p. 77.) This factor gives recognition to the fact that some lapse of time is indicated in the simultaneous rendering of an object either viewed from two or more different observation points or turned in two or more directions before the fixed observer.

It is suggested, however, that at least so far as the phase of Cubism herein considered is concerned, this new concept of time, along with the new concept of space, was more in the nature of a by-product than of a direct objective or end in itself, as may become clearer after the full reading of the text.

thought of as directly opposed to the traditional concept of space in which, through the adherence of the artist to a single fixed observation point and the use of normal perspective, the depicted space seems to recede behind the surface of the picture much like any view seen through the enframing of a window.

This leads to a second and almost equally well considered aspect of Cubist abstraction: in simplest terms, the return to preeminence of the two-dimensional composition on the flat surface within the enframing.³ This aspect, particularly after the advent of *collage*, has been described, more abstrusely, as "an emphasis not upon the reality of the represented objects but upon the reality of the painted surface."⁴

A matter of common observation is the geometrizing tendency, in the free sense, from which the whole movement derives its name. Although it is clear that the pursuit of the underlying cube, cone, and cylinder in the three-dimensional sense was abandoned at a relatively early stage in the school's development, it is none the less evident that the geometrizing tendency in its subsequent two-dimensional sense prevailed throughout the principal remaining phases of the movement.

Barr has given perhaps undue prominence to the isolated technical device known as the *passage*, which he defines as "the breaking of a contour so

3. R. H. Wilenski, in his *The Modern Movement in Art*, London, Faber and Gwyer, 1927, pp. 134-135, goes to the extreme of saying, "These artists, in their technical reactions against illusionist photographic naturalism, made it a point of honour to refrain from any procedure which conveyed the illusion that any part of the picture was farther from the spectator than the actual canvas. The canvas itself, they argued, must appear to be what it actually is, i.e. the most distant part of the physical contents of the surrounding frame." And in his *Modern French Painters*, New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939, p. 204, he avers further, "... and upon that plane the structure rose in flat planes to the height of the actual pigments employed or, with the aid of illusion, to the height of two or three inches at the most." It is submitted that the absurdity of these observations will become evident with the full reading of the present thesis.

4. A. H. Barr, Jr., *Cubism and Abstract Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1936, p. 78. J. J. Sweeney puts it in these words (*op. cit.*, p. 28): "The representation within the picture-space no longer attempted to simulate a slice of the world of nature. It became now aggressively an object to be considered for itself—a plastic organization of forms suggested by line and color on a flat surface."

that the form seems to merge with space"⁵ or, more normally, with the plane behind it. For the rest, except for the frequently unfounded and sometimes highly erroneous analyses of these paintings, there remain in the literature only those innumerable references to the "overlapping," "transparent," "tilted," or occasionally "interpenetrating" planes.

As already indicated, this investigation will involve direct scrutiny of specific details in these paintings, here brought into clearer view by means of sketches of enlarged sections. It is of course much more difficult for even the hardest reader to follow such an argument in the form of a text with accompanying illustration than in the form of a lecture, where the speaker can point directly to the details as he speaks and the observer has merely to listen while he looks. But the conscientious inquirer will, we believe, be rewarded and he may have the satisfaction in the meantime of knowing that he is dealing with the only language spoken by the paintings themselves.

We will consider first several examples illustrating various aspects of the problem and then the problem as a whole.

FIGURE I

In this first example we are concerned primarily with what is commonly referred to as the contour or outline of an object. We are reminded first, that in the "normal" rendering of an object the continuity of the outline remains intact, unbroken; and secondly, that the local tone of the object, if a flat tone, remains uniform throughout the area bounded by that outline.⁶

In the illustration the general character of the body of a guitar is gradually recognized and soon the strings, sound-hole or "eye," bridge, and string pegs are discovered, in this case in fairly normal alignment. However, the arbitrary interruption and displacement of various parts of the outline are immediately evident. If we may speak of the shoulders, waist, and hips of a guitar, the lower hip is here found to be in approximately normal position in relation to the strings, bridge, etc. But the lower shoulder is seen to have been moved arbitrarily upward and left dangling with both its ends lying free. As a fragment, however, it has not been rotated. We may next observe a long diagonal which starts in the center of the sound-hole or "eye" and continues upward and to the right to the limits of this sketch. Back at the sound-hole this diagonal describes a right-angle turn with a short leg which stops at the outer circle of the sound-hole but aims noticeably toward the left end of the question-mark curve of the displaced lower shoulder just described. If we add to this the straight vertical line which rises out of the right-hand end of this

shoulder curve, we will observe that, instead of reading the closed outline of the body of the original guitar, we now tend to read as a shape in itself the area bounded by the long diagonal, its short right-angle leg, the curve of the shoulder, the vertical rising from it, and finally, the horizontal which interrupts this vertical and moves principally to the right.

All this is obviously aided by the fact that the shoulder curve, instead of containing the middle-gray tone seen in the properly aligned lower hip, contains the near-white tone seen throughout the new shape described. Meanwhile, a typical *passage* is to be seen between the left end of the shoulder curve and the short right-angle leg, effecting a partial merging of the new shape described with the rectangular shape of the same tone containing the strings and bridge.

Turning to the left end of the guitar as a whole, we find that a slice has been arbitrarily taken off the bottom of the body and shifted upward along a line tilted slightly from the vertical. Again we observe that it has not been rotated and that the tone is different from the middle-gray tone of the lower hip from which this slice has been taken. In this case the line along which the slice has been both taken and shifted continues both beyond the slice at the top and beyond the lower hip at the bottom. The result is that not even the continuity of the broken outline of the guitar is retained, the continuity being maintained instead along the entire uninterrupted length of this "slice line."

In this vicinity there is yet another curve from the body of the guitar representing a somewhat wider departure from the original outline. Although located in the approximate region of the upper hip, its size approximates more closely that of an upper shoulder, and in either case it has been rotated appreciably from its normal orientation. Furthermore, the play of tones within it and the running of other lines across it give it the character of a stray line rather than of a part of an outline, although the middle-gray area within it makes it seem to delimit a plane which is blended by way of another *passage* with the darker plane behind and above it.

Returning to the lower hip of the guitar, it is seen that while the middle-gray tone is denied to the displaced lower shoulder and to the slice taken off the bottom, it is allowed to move uninterruptedly into the adjacent rectilinear area below the lower shoulder, an area whose shape necessarily implies another object which would normally be given a different local tone and which would perforce lie either behind or in front of the fragment of the hip with which its tone is merged so that the two together read as a single, continuous, flat plane.

There are many other interesting developments, even within this limited detail, but as types they de-

5. A. H. Barr, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 31. See also p. 42.

6. Exclusive of the factor of shading, of course.

serve more direct consideration. For this, the illustrations which follow have been specifically selected.

FIGURE 2

Our second problem is the reading of planes forward and back. When a surface or a volume passes behind another nearer form, both its tone and its outlines abruptly disappear behind the edge of that nearer form, assuming that the nearer form is not transparent but opaque. One device frequently used for emphasizing the disposition of one plane behind another is to introduce shading on the farther plane along the line where it passes behind the nearer plane. This may serve either literally to indicate the shadow cast by the nearer plane upon the farther, or abstractly to clarify the reading of the planes without intending to render consistently the light effect.

In Figure 2 we recognize first the fragments of a violin in the upper part of the sketch. We may then locate what appear to be the three sides of a rectangle, rotated somewhat from the vertical, slightly irregular in shape, and containing within its outlines the two sets of letters *DUOS* and *PER*.

If we assume that the rectangle bounded by these three sides is a flat plane, we find little difficulty in reading the group of letters *PER* as lying on that plane. Then, observing the region above these three letters, we find that this plane, through the shading device described above, may be seen as passing behind the surface bearing the letters *DUOS*, it being perfectly clear, from the way the *s* is cut off, to which plane this latter group of letters belongs.

However, moving farther up we find that our original plane, for lack of a fourth side and a change in tone, seems to merge with the area beneath the violin strings, which area in its turn, through the continuation of the shading already observed, is made to pass beneath the waist of the violin, with the surface of which it would normally be continuous.

In this setting the behavior of the left side of our original three-sided rectangle becomes provocative. The plane of this rectangle bearing the letters *PER* lies beneath the surface marked *DUOS*, which in its turn lies underneath the waist and shoulders of the violin. The rectangle's left side, however, continues uninterruptedly over both of these superimposed forms. The result is that our original plane *PER*, taken as a whole, appears to pass at once both under and over these other two forms.

A somewhat simpler variant of the same effect is to be seen in the area immediately above and to the right of the letters *PER*. Here, owing to the angle at which the hip of the violin is seen (as opposed to the top view of the shoulder), the side of the hip is visible as well as its upper surface beneath the strings. What is of particular interest to us is the fact that, although this side surface of the hip is shaded to carry it behind

the plane *PER*, its outlines are continued uninterruptedly over that plane.

But quite possibly the reader may not agree with this description. It may well be that to him the shaded area above the letters *PER* seems to represent a curved plane which moves either concavely or convexly to the right from the line of deepest shading, the line of departure being at the level of, as well as at the edge of, the violin's waist. Or, on the other hand, whether concave or convex, this whole area of shading, bounded on the bottom by the contour of the side surface of the hip, may be seen as standing decidedly forward from the waist of the violin with an appreciable space between the two. As if in echo, the side surface of the violin's hip where it is shaded can be made to perform the same oscillation between concave recession and convex projection from the line of deepest shading, like the famous illustration of the reversible stairway.

It is precisely these compound effects that we wish to bring out.

How are these latter effects possible in view of the technical principle of shading, to indicate one plane passing behind another, cited above? When light falls on a cylindrical or columnar object the shading gradually deepens in tone as the curved surface moves away from the light source. Consequently, if a passage of shading such as that described above is extended and at the same time somewhat thinned out, as has undoubtedly been done deliberately here, it naturally approaches the graduated shading of the columnar form, and so produces the change of effect which we have observed.

Finally, returning to our original three-sided rectangle, if we are led to think of it as transparent by its behavior over the plane *DUOS* and the violin's waist and shoulder, we are just as easily persuaded to think of it as opaque upon considering its behavior over the three planes beneath its bottom edge.

FIGURE 3

With this third example we continue our concern with both the problem of the contour and that of the articulation of planes forward and back, but now in somewhat more complex forms.

We are struck at first by what appears to be roughly a palette-shaped form, with a pronounced "eye" suggesting what would normally be the thumb-hole of the palette. On further examination our old friend the guitar reveals itself, the "palette" being the hips of the guitar, a white line (which describes an s-curve on a black field) delineating its waist and upper shoulder, and a group of parallel lines on the right side of the sketch serving to delineate the strings, or at least a part of them.

Again it is precisely this duality of appearance with which we are concerned, thus warranting a closer ex-

amination of the means by which it is achieved. First, we may recall that in the normal rendering of an object the continuity of the outline remains intact, and, further, that the local tone of the object remains uniform throughout the area bounded by the outline. We may now add the corollary that, if somewhere along the outline of an object the interior tone is changed, a new contour is created along the line of change, and the eye tends to read as an independent form the whole area containing the initial tone, bounded partly by the original outline and partly by the line along which the tone has been changed. In other words, the continuity of the outline is automatically shifted from the original outline circumscribing the whole shape to that defining the new area of uniform tone which fills only a part of the whole shape.

We refer, in our example, to the area above the "eye" or sound-hole which is textured with short parallel strokes and the adjacent s-curve described above. Whereas the continuity of an actual guitar's outline naturally runs from the hip, in around the waist, and then out around the shoulder, here the continuity breaks away from the normal contour and flows from the hip inward toward the "eye" along the line bounding the textured tone.

Yet at the same time we feel the continuity of the whole upper half of the "palette's" outline despite the two tones contained within it just as readily as we feel the continuity of the section uniformly textured with short parallel strokes. Why, if what has been said about the relation of tone to contour is true? There are two contributing factors. First, the contrast between the two tones within the palette outline is considerably less than that between the textured tone and the dark tone containing the s-curve. Secondly, in comparison with the upper contour of the "palette," this same s-curve is relatively weak inasmuch as it is merely a free line surrounded by a uniform tone and therefore lacks the emphasis of a line of demarcation between two contrasting tones.

The relation between the whole upper part of the "palette" and the textured section of it is simply an instance in a different form of precisely the same quality of duality or oscillation already discussed. The ease with which we can see first the one and then the other attests to the subtlety of the adjustment between them.

In the region below the "eye" appears a compounding of a device with which we are already familiar. First we must single out two forms for consideration: the one a black form developing out of the "eye" through an elbow and arm to an expanded curvilinear shape, and the other a pure white (in the sketch) plane surrounding that elbow. The dark form, which to the left and at the bottom of the textured area seems to lie beneath it, manages via the elbow to come out on top

of it at the "eye." The white plane does likewise, although it lies not only beneath the dark form which appears to be on top of the "palette," but also, farther down, beneath the "palette" itself. Yet all this contradicts the fact that, since there is no shading to indicate otherwise, these planes are rendered, and consequently are read, as flat planes and as planes which lie parallel to each other and to the picture plane.

Finally, we turn to the two planes extending upward from the top of the "palette," the one on the right being a lighter gray, that to the left a darker tone, the left edge of the latter being a continuation of the left edge of the textured area within the "palette." Since the lighter plane appears to pass beneath the textured area, and since the darker plane seems to lie beneath the lighter, this darker plane seems doubly forced to pass beneath the textured area. And yet this reading is contradicted by the continuation of the left edge of that plane over the "palette" in such a way that it forms the left edge of the textured area, as already observed.

If transparency be thought of as the key to the dilemma, it will soon be observed that there is nothing in the character of the textured form to indicate either a transparent guitar or a transparent dark-grey plane extending down over it. We are left with no solution but the idea, unendingly difficult to accept as final, of a sheer coincidence between the left edge of the dark gray plane and that of the textured form.

FIGURE 4

This fourth sketch illustrates the factor of coincidence already introduced at the end of the previous discussion but in a rather indirect and somewhat advanced form. In this case we pause first to consider the fact that in the "normal" rendering of a group of objects which lie at various distances from the observer, any coincidence of the outline of one object with that of another is usually carefully avoided. For if the outlines of two adjacent objects neither overlap nor stand free but touch exactly, the continuity of the outline of one of the objects may carry across to that of the other at the point of contact, causing a distraction or deviation from the enclosing outline of the first object. In the case of two spherical jugs, for example, instead of seeing a separate circle for each independent outline, we tend to read a figure 8 from their combined form. Furthermore, though one of the objects may be distinctly farther away from the observer than the other, this merging of the two makes them seem to lie in the same plane, thus contradicting the actual distance between them and confusing their true spatial relationship.

In our illustration the coincidence is readily seen. The two forms involved are a guitar lying on a diagonal and, near by, a symmetrical upright flask-shaped form which, on close inspection, will be seen to con-

tain a pear on the left and a smaller plum on the right. As the outline across the top of the shoulders of the guitar starts down the side of the left shoulder it is already in coincidence with the upper right side of the "flask." Then after turning out at the waist, instead of curving back down to define the lower hip, it swings off to the left and upward to complete the outline of the "flask" instead. The elusiveness of the effect is then compounded by the realization that the "flask" cannot in fact be an upright, convex, transparent container but must instead be the concave hollow of the bowl of a fruit dish seen at a relatively steep perspective angle.

Before leaving this sketch two instances of another device should be pointed out. Briefly, although the surface of the body of the guitar is flat, the contour of the upper hip suddenly disappears, as it were, behind itself. Or, turning to the pear, we discover that in an analogous way the dark background tone is carried up onto the surface of the pear. It is interesting, incidentally, to see how the continuities of the forms outside the bowl are maintained across its interior; a development which in part is responsible for our alternate interpretation of it as a transparent "flask."

More pronounced in its duality of effect, however, is the device seen in the body of the guitar itself. Two interlocking forms are observed, one a white form which constitutes the upper shoulder and extends on down through the body, the other the adjoining dark form which, in part, forms a section of the sound-hole. What interests us is the way the light form can be seen as the "object" lying on a dark ground, or conversely, the way the dark form can be read as the "object" seen against a white ground. An echo of this vibration is to be found in the behavior of the strings. Seen as dark against the light body of the guitar, or as light against the dark, as you will, they become in either case reversed above the shoulder of the instrument.

FIGURE 5

In this final example, as in the others, the factor singled out for consideration is one of the fundamental, almost rudimentary elements of representation. Here it is the question of lighting with its accompanying shading and cast shadow, particularly the latter. Here, too, we begin by establishing the general principle as it applies in normal representation.

When light from a localized source is trained on an object, the side of the object which is facing the light is illuminated, but any part of the object which is turned away from the light remains, perforce, in shade. More important in this particular context is the further obvious fact that the object prevents the light from reaching any surface behind it, whether it is the table on which the object stands, the wall against which it is seen, or any other intervening plane or form. The shape of this unilluminated area, which is

referred to positively as the object's cast shadow, is determined directly by the object which produces it. Its position, of course, is always opposite the light source; when the light is moved to the left, the shadow pivoting on its mother object moves correspondingly to the right; when the light is lowered the shadow rises, and so on.

The complexities which can be developed from these simple beginnings are almost unlimited with the possibilities of the expansion of the light source, the multiplication of light sources, the complication of forms on which shadows are cast, and the introduction of secondary illumination in the form of reflections from other objects. But happily and not insignificantly, the example under examination requires that we consider only a first and relatively simple complication of the basic principle; namely, that if a second localized light source of equal strength is introduced and is played on the object from another direction, it will naturally illuminate parts of the cast shadow created by the initial light source. Finally, if we think of the second light source as pivoting around the object and sweeping away the initial cast shadow as it progresses on its orbit, it will be seen that the extent to which it reduces that initial shadow will be coordinate with the degree to which its angle of focus diverges from that of the initial light source.

We begin in the lower part of the composition, just to the right of center. Here there is a sheet of material out of which the form of a lemon appears to be bulging (in itself a provocative enough piece of indirection). Now, if the dark angular areas adjoining the upper and right-hand sides of this sheet are shadows cast by it, the light source is evidently below and to the left of the observer. On the other hand, if the similarly dark area adjoining the lower left corner and sides of the newspaper heading is its corresponding cast shadow, the light source is of necessity to the observer's right. And yet if both of these widely divergent light sources were shining simultaneously, each would automatically cancel out virtually all of the shadow cast by the other. Moreover, one would also cancel the shadow cast from the other by the high-ball glass standing immediately to the left of the stem of the fruit dish; whereas the other would similarly eliminate the dark shadow of the wine bottle in the upper right corner of the composition.⁷

In this upper right-hand corner can be seen the neck, shoulder, and body of a wine bottle, only the

7. This is an opportune point at which to observe, as a sequel to note 2, that it is not only different views of the object and/or different positions of the observer which may be rendered simultaneously in Cubist painting. Also, different positions of the light source, by normal standards mutually exclusive to the same degree, may be so rendered; it being perfectly self-evident, when we come to think of it, that the position of the light is just as fundamental a factor in the traditional fixed rendering of an observation as the positions of the object and of the observer.

right-hand side of which is delineated. It is rendered by means of the gradual shading of rounded objects with which we are already familiar. But at the left side of the neck, there is a typical *passage* blending the three-dimensional free-standing bottle with the two-dimensional background plane. Near the bottom, the bottle, to this point opaque, suddenly becomes transparent permitting us to see the letter "N" of the newspaper heading through the bottle's rounded bottom edge.

Turning to the bottle's cast shadow already referred to, it is not enough to observe that the neck and shoulder indicated are the shadows of the nonexistent left-hand side of the bottle. Seen as a kind of mutual overlapping of bottle and shadow, the narrow wedge-shaped area of intermediate tone standing between the two is even more perplexing. It can be read either as a half-completed shadow seen through an equally fragmentary bottle, or the reverse, in which case the shadow has become a transparent but none-the-less concrete object in its own right standing in front of the bottle instead of behind it. Meanwhile the light sources necessary for the creation of all these shadings and shadows will be found to be the same two originally described, each of which would normally erase the creations of the other.

However, for what is perhaps the crowning reversal within this general theme of the shadows cast by objects, we turn to a part of the central motif of the composition, the white stem of the fruit dish. Quite simply, this part of the white area, after being shaded to articulate the rounded stem of the fruit dish, is then extended, unmodified, to the right to a clearly defined limit. That this area immediately to the right of the stem is precisely the area where the stem's cast shadow should fall is made very clear by the fact that just as the stem is exactly parallel to the side of the adjacent highball glass, the right edge of the white area is similarly parallel to the shadow cast by that glass where it falls on the common plane of the table top. Thus, instead of the darkness of an area hidden from the light by the intervening stem, there is a tone as light as the stem itself; in other words the object casts not a shadow but a light. Yet all this while the bowl of the fruit dish, with sublime independence, casts nothing at all.

As in our other examples, there are here further variations on this main theme that might be considered. But, with the gradual enlargement of our repertoire, it is more tempting to look at the new instances of the devices analyzed in the previous illustrations, frequently emerging here in excitingly new forms and contexts. Mention of a few will at least suggest the almost endless possible variations on, and combinations of, these primary devices.

The long line which drops straight down and rises straight up from the right edge of the fruit bowl fur-

nishes a striking instance of the coincidental outline theme. In addition to the independent continuities of the whole straight line and the whole curve of the bowl's rim on this side, are the simultaneous cross-continuities from the upper part of the curve straight down and from the lower part of the curve straight up. An interesting variant is the far rim of the bowl, which is seen to develop either into or out of the two pieces of fruit lying side by side. Nor are these the only developments of this device to be found here.

The performance of the flat plane which turns and disappears behind itself is here extended to a three-dimensional volume: the highball glass disappears behind the edge of the table upon which it is standing. The wine glass, which has apparently been set down directly inside the highball glass, presents a fluctuation of a different though not unrelated sort. The bowl of this glass some distance below the rim suddenly disappears behind what may originally have been the level of the liquid in the larger glass, implying that that liquid, or whatever else it may be, is opaque. Farther down, however, the stem and base of this wine glass again come clearly into view.

Finally, the well-documented device in Cubist painting of showing different views of the same object at the same time finds unsuspected development here immediately to the left of the highball glass. Though partly hidden from view, straight elevation renderings (as against the perspective views already observed) of the wine glass and of the fruit bowl including the fruit will be discovered in the form of black silhouettes partly outlined in white and partly seen as against limited white backgrounds. By way of a complication, however, a variant of one of the devices previously discussed is involved. These light background areas are limited in such a way that they emerge strongly as forms in themselves seen against a dark background; a reading which cannot be denied considering the delay in our discovery of the elevations which they delimit.

Given all these devices, our culminating task is to try to determine whether or not they have some one thing in common, some basic affinity; to try to discover of what primary component of Cubism they may be the various manifestations. A partial list will bring them into focus:

- a. planes which are at once transparent and opaque
- b. tones of objects which "bleed" out and become background tones so that the object is part of, and at the same time in front of, the background
- c. outlines which coincide with other outlines so that the continuity may be read around either or across both
- d. surfaces which recede behind other surfaces and project over them simultaneously

- e. shadows, mutually excluded by each others' light sources, standing side by side
- f. parts of objects shifted away from the whole and then changed in tone so that the recognition of the original will be constantly elusive
- g. shadows which become substance
- h. flat planes which disappear behind themselves
- i. shapes created by arbitrary changes of tone competing with the shapes of the recognizable objects within which they are developed
- j. forms whose contours pass over other forms while their local tones disappear beneath them
- k. interlocking light and dark forms either of which can be seen as the "object" against the other as background

Clearly that which all these things have in common, that of which they are an unending variety of manifestations, is this:

A Deliberate Oscillation of Appearances
 A Studied Multiplicity of Readings
 A Conscious Compounding of Identities
*An Iridescence of Form*⁸

Further in consolidation of our thesis, do we not find a new and more tangible significance lying behind those procedures in Cubism which the literature has already noted? We refer principally to the well-rehearsed liberty taken by the artist in dismantling his objects and using the fragments to build up an independent composition, plus the privilege taken of combining views from different angles of various parts of the same object. A simple rephrasing in the light of this thesis becomes all that is necessary. Cannot the effects of these procedures be described quite simply along the following now familiar lines:

- l. parts of an object displaced from the whole so that its recognition is made elusive, fugitive, intermittent
- m. objects seen from two (or more) directions at once
- n. sections of objects shifted and adjusted so that they become either involved in other continuities or new forms in their own right.⁹

The procedure of abstraction as described here may at first fill the reader with a sense of constant frustration by its insistent avoidance of "normal" representation. To those just becoming acquainted with it, it may well seem to offer only an irritating if not tantalizing prospect in its promised failure to "jell" into conventionally recognizable appearances.

8. This term is submitted with all due modesty and hesitation; modesty against the time when a better term can be found, and hesitation before the dizzy and ill-considered multiplication and complication of theoretical terminology being practiced today, particularly in the field of modern art. Also there is no denying the risk of its becoming an indiscriminately applied catch-phrase or cliché without regard for its specific meaning within the present context.

9. See note 2, second paragraph.

It has been the writer's experience, however, to find it arresting rather than frustrating, stimulating rather than irritating, ever more intriguing in its expanding multiplicity of countenances, with subordinate motifs suddenly becoming dominant themes, with familiar continuities unexpectedly shifting to emerge as new forms, with substantial solids opening up into unexplored depths of transparency.

Another objection which the reader may feel is the coldly intellectual and fatiguingly complicated analyses which seem to be required in order to perceive the multiplicities of appearances which these paintings possess, if the analyses of the sketches in the present report are any indication. The answer lies in the reassurance that the appearances of the forms in these paintings and their transmutations will gradually make themselves directly felt to the observer without requiring that he consciously rehearse the principles of representation involved. It may be added from the writer's experience that even after extended contact and seemingly exhaustive familiarity, new countenances will unpredictably present themselves while familiar patterns pleasantly reappear or are easily rediscovered.

However, this must not be taken as an attempt to justify or appraise this type of painting aesthetically. This is not the occasion for that. It is, rather, an attempt at a truer understanding of the nature of these works so that we may have a more reliable foundation on which to base such an aesthetic judgment. Nor is this an attempt to claim for these works the stature of the greatest art. In fact, it is sincerely hoped that some concrete insight into the actual problems with which these painters were preoccupied may go far in deflating the ethereal claims of the "apollinaires."¹⁰

We should, however, reconsider one alleged shortcoming frequently ascribed to abstract art in general; namely, its lack of the discipline of representation which controlled and heightened the accomplishments

10. Typical are: Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters—Aesthetic Meditations* (1913), New York, Wittenborn, 1944; A. Gleizes and J. Metzinger, *Cubism*, London, T. F. Unwin, 1913; Gyorgy Kepes, *Language of Vision*, Chicago, Paul Theobald, 1944.

Georges Lemaître, in *From Cubism to Surrealism in French Literature*, Cambridge, Harvard University, London, Oxford University, Humphrey Milford, 1941, p. 79, finds no hesitation in saying, "The Cubist doctrines, it must be admitted, were on the whole more than a little confusing. Among themselves the exponents of these doctrines showed considerable divergencies of temperament and outlook. Moreover, as certain of the most gifted Cubist painters were not in the least inclined to metaphysical speculation, they were only too glad to have a Guillaume Apollinaire or a Max Jacob refer to their work with undoubtedly brilliant, though rather fantastic arguments. Apollinaire, especially, took an evident delight in piling up indefatigably ingenious theories on top of crazy, breath-taking paradoxes. So it was not always easy to know—and perhaps Apollinaire himself did not know exactly—how far his sincerity really went, how much he indulged his mystifying humor, and to what extent he was himself carried away, intoxicated by his own exaltation and eloquence."

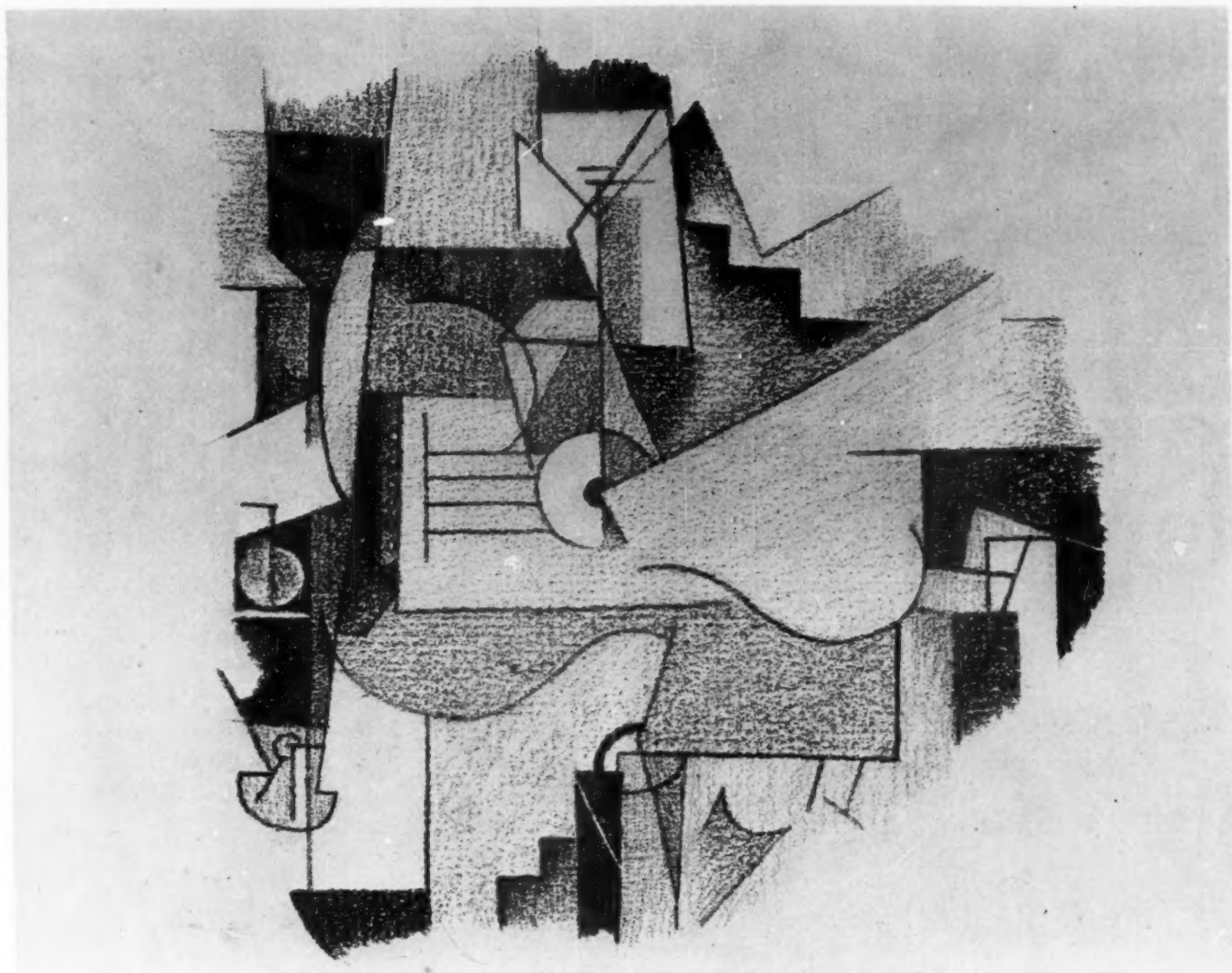


FIG. 1. Pablo Picasso, *Bouteille, Guitar, Pipe*, 1912-13 (detail). Paris, Collection M. Rolf de Mare (drawn from: Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, Paris, Editions "Cahiers d'Art," 1942, II, 2, pl. 377)

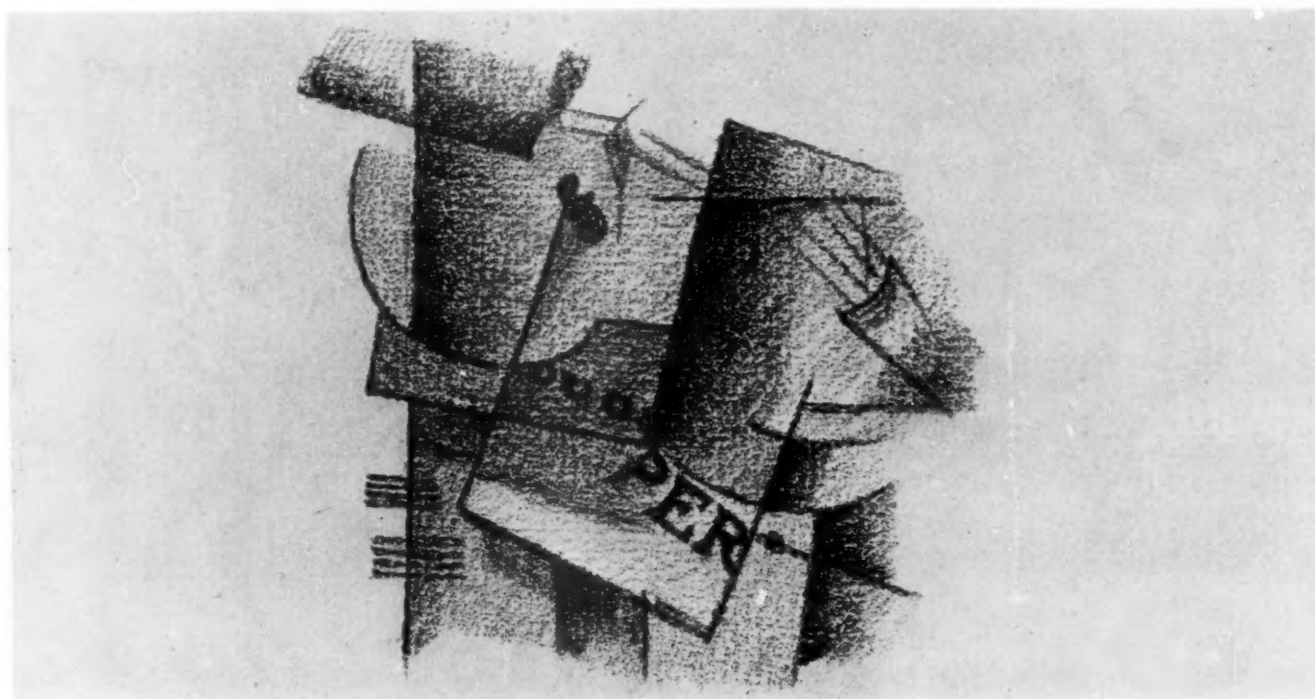


FIG. 2. Georges Braque, *Die Violine* (detail) (date, location, and ownership undetermined; drawn from: Kunsthalle Basel, *Georges Braque*, Exhibition April 9 to May 14, 1933, unnumbered plate)

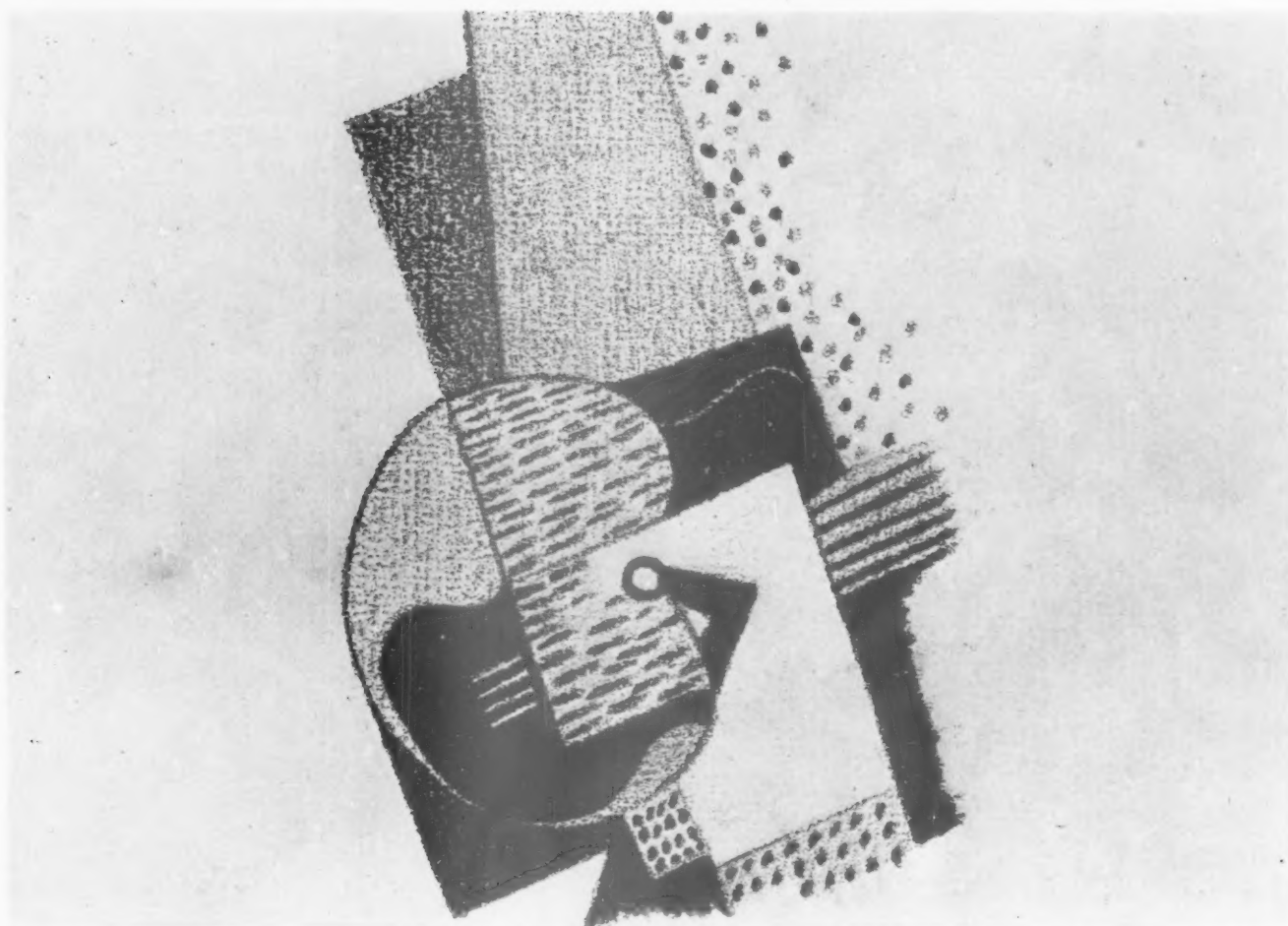


FIG. 3. Pablo Picasso, *Femme dans un Fauteuil Jouant de la Guitare*, 1916 (detail). Paris, Galerie Thannhauser (drawn from: Christian Zervos, *op. cit.*, pl. 562)

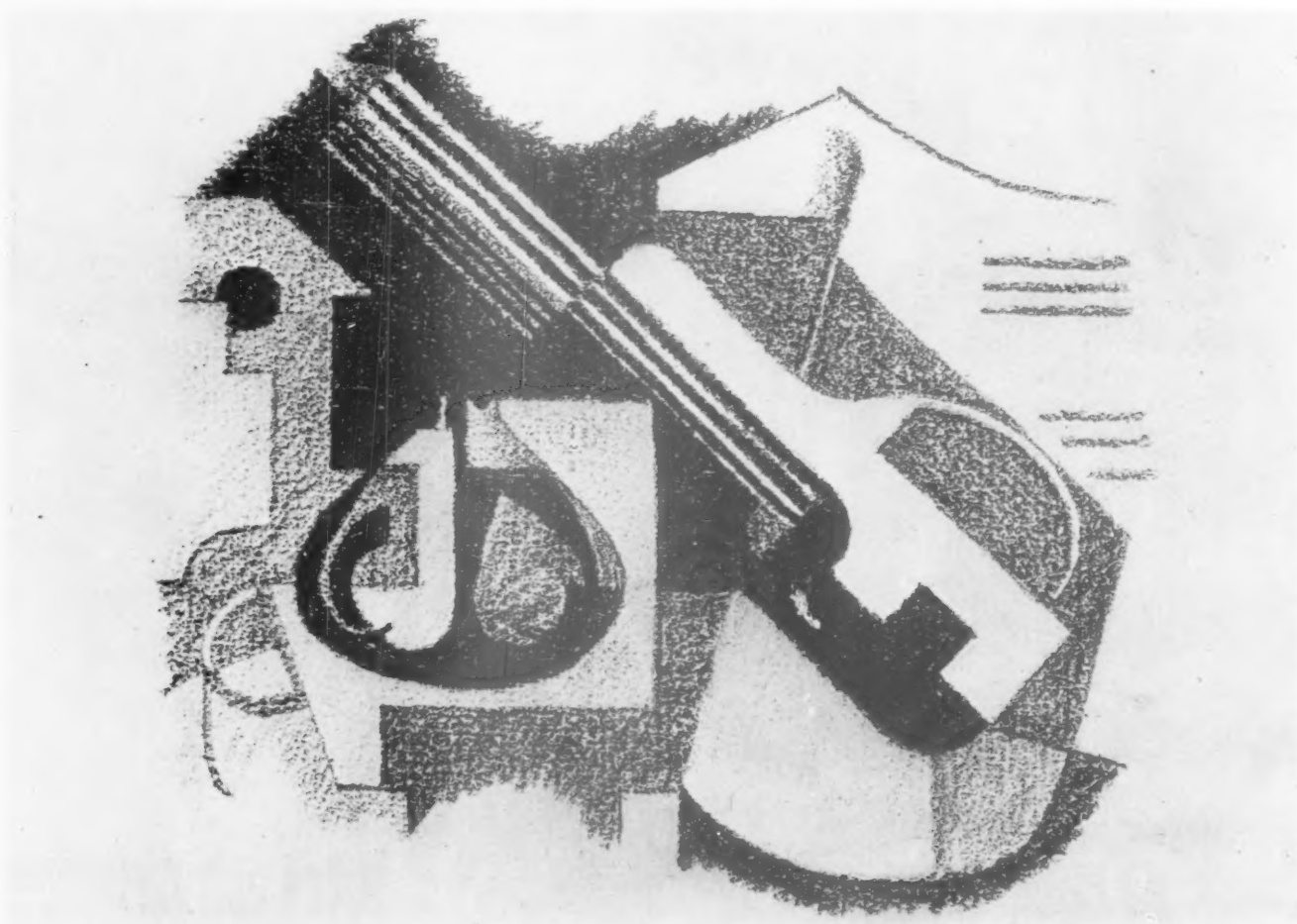


FIG. 4. Juan Gris, *Nature Morte*, 1918 (detail). Paris, Collection M. Raoul LaRoche (drawn from: Kunsthau Zurich, *Juan Gris*, Exhibition, April 2 to April 26, n.d., unnumbered plate)

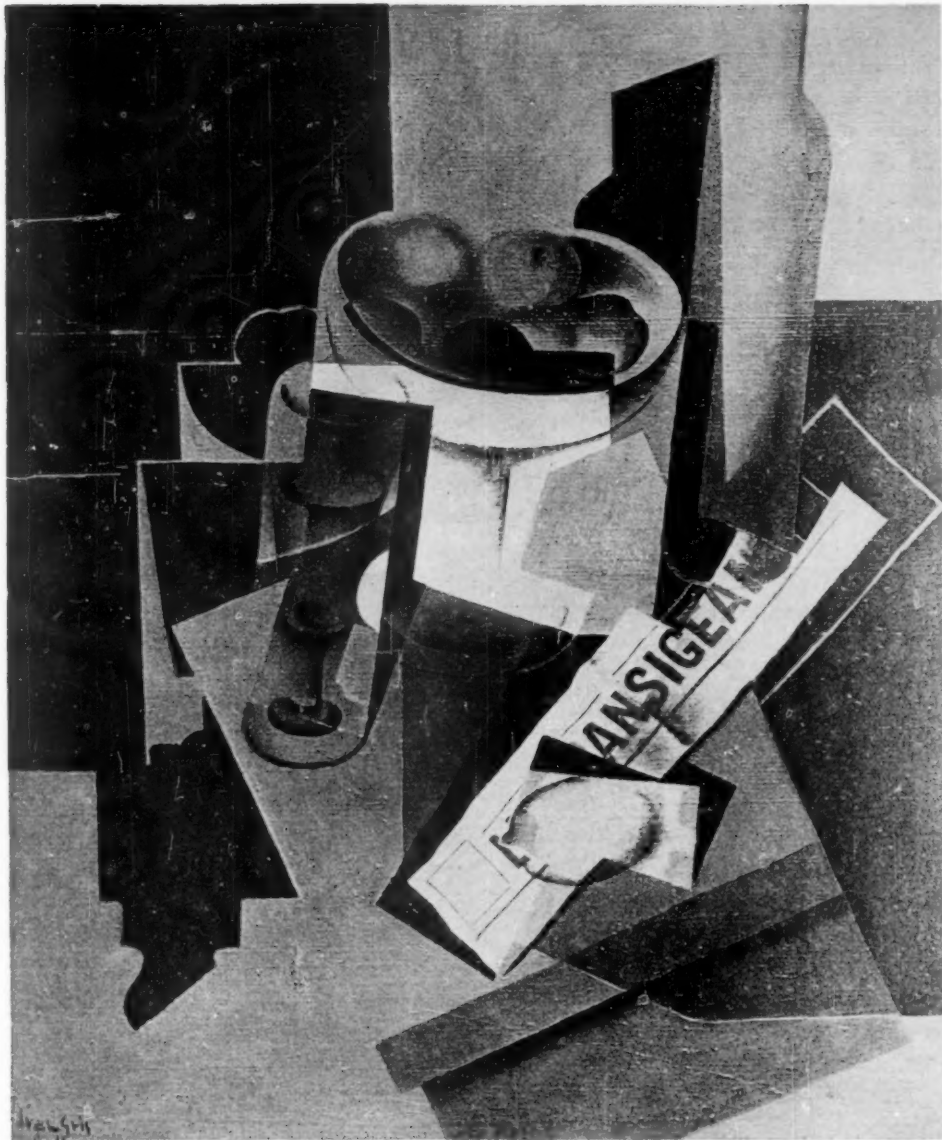


FIG. 5. Juan Gris, *Nature Morte*, 1916. Paris, Collection M. Maurice Raynal (reproduced from: "Juan Gris," *Cahiers d'Art*, 1933, VIII, 5-6, unnumbered plate)

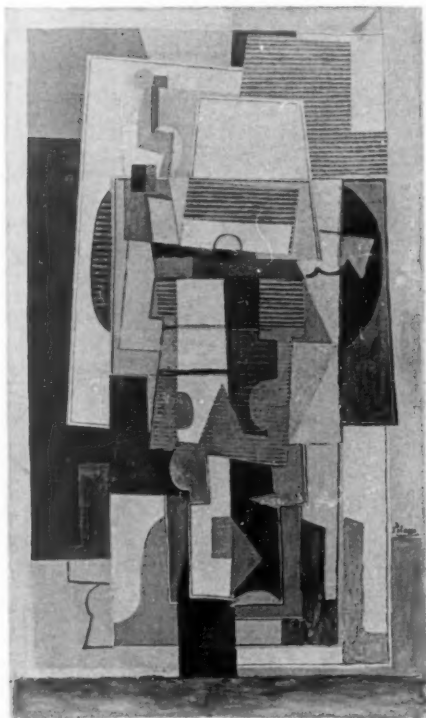


FIG. 6. Pablo Picasso, *La Table*, 1919-20. Northampton, Mass., Smith College Museum of Art (Courtesy Smith College Museum of Art)



FIG. 7. Pablo Picasso, *L'Arlésienne*, 1910-12. Collection Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. (Courtesy Museum of Modern Art, New York)



in expression and design of the traditional artist. Certainly it would be naïve to base the evaluation of any art on the mere difficulty of its performance. In any case, whatever the validity of this pronouncement regarding other phases of abstract art, clearly it finds no place in the phase of Cubism with which we are dealing here. Who is to say that as a discipline the achievement of a manifest compounding of appearances is any less challenging, and stimulating, than the attainment of the single effect of natural appearances? It is rather the discipline of expression which these paintings undeniably lack, the conscious expression, that is, of those human values which are by necessity couched in the terms of "normal" representation.

Actually there seems to be good reason for placing these works in that somewhat lesser but somewhat special category to which the traditional still-life belongs.¹¹ The two at least have clearly in common the lack of the same primary discipline of expression. To be sure, there is an alternative to this kind of expression in painting, generally referred to as abstract *expressionism*, for the qualified development of which the relatively abstract painting enjoys distinct possibilities. In Cubist painting, however, the anonymous character of the geometrized shapes, the austerity or otherwise primarily sensory character of the tones, the objective purpose of the distortions, and the constant reappearance of the guitar, the wine glass, and *Le Journal*—all seem to provide abundant evidence that these painters were as disinclined toward this form of expression as they were forbidden the other.

Although no attempt will be made to give a full account of the historical place and significance of the aspect of Cubism discussed here, certain introductory remarks along these lines are in order. In the first place, it should be pointed out that the paintings from which our observations have been drawn date approximately from the period late-1912 through 1916, and all of our illustrations up to this point date from the same period, except for the sketched Gris whose later date—1918—is understandable.¹² Our investigation has not been carried beyond this specific sphere and the particular aspect of Cubism with which we are

dealing may not necessarily occur in every phase of the movement.

If we look forward from this period to the abstractions done by Picasso at the turn of the decade—*La Table*, for example, 1919-1920, Smith College Museum, (Fig. 6)—we will find compositions which, superficially at least, seem more in the character of flat, "side-by-side" patterns. But there is reason to believe that these works contain more of what we have called iridescence of form than one might at first suspect. Among other things it is possible that instead of employing the whole repertoire of devices Picasso may have confined himself to more elaborate developments of just one or two as themes. Also it would seem natural for these later works to become more elusive in countenance, more subtle in their adjustments, in fact altogether more sophisticated in character.¹³

Turning in the other direction to the period immediately preceding ours, it is interesting to discover that such a work as *L'Arlésienne*—variously dated between 1910 and 1912, collection W. P. Chrysler, Jr., (Fig. 7)—is probably more easily and thoroughly understood after an analysis of the later works such as those discussed above. For if we look carefully enough we will find here the same overlapping planes that lie underneath, the same opaque transparencies, the same crossed continuities; but with the significant difference that the forms thus dealt with are not the recognizable parts of familiar objects whose manipulations can, for this reason, be followed with relative ease, but rather arbitrarily created facets or abstract planes whose behavior knows no norm. To this must be added the fact that, whereas the recognizable forms of the later works have distinguishing local tones whose appearances or whose changes may be duly noted, these arbitrary facets for the most part share the same monochromatic neutral tone, with the added complication that a darker tone may be taken for either a darker local tone or the shaded phase of a lighter tone.

Eventually it will be interesting to see what light these findings may throw on the type of Cubism immediately preceding the phase just discussed, Picasso's *Portrait de Kahnweiler* being suggested as a typical and well-known example. Back of this they should prove to be of more than indifferent value in the challenging problem of determining more exactly the date and the authorship of the movement's origin. Of still further significance, given this aspect of Cubism as one of the primary objectives of the movement, is the prospect of bringing it to bear on the still contro-

11. Although considering the matter from a somewhat different point of view, it is interesting to find Amadée Ozenfant writing as follows in his *Foundations of Modern Art*, New York, Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1931, p. 64: "Only the truest connoisseur can adequately appreciate the relations of tones and forms in a still-life, for the intrinsic interest of such a subject is practically nil. A real peach or pear are beautiful things, but the aspect lent to them by Chardin, say, or Cézanne, is something utterly different from their imitation: symphonies of forms and colors, of which the subject is but the ultra-modest theme. . . . The subject matters so little in a still-life that a trifling shock was to prove sufficient to inaugurate an attempt to dispense with it entirely. Cubism therefore, in my opinion, can be considered as the 'still-life' entirely liberated from the subject."

12. The date of the Braque has not been determined but it is reasonably assumed to be no earlier than 1912.

13. Since completing this article the writer has had the opportunity of undertaking a quite exhaustive study of *La Table*, which strongly suggests a sequel article inasmuch as the findings, if he may say so, seem to be surprisingly in line with these expectations, with the addition of some very interesting compoundings of the iridescent effect. And in so being, they at the same time provide a rather compelling confirmation of our present thesis.

versial question of the pioneering significance of Cézanne.¹⁴

It is a common fault of the literature on modern painting to regard each successive movement as merely a stepping-stone to the next, revealing a readiness to overlook, if not an ignorance of, the movement's intrinsic value. So Cubism has been regarded as a mere step on the long road toward pure abstraction.¹⁵ In this connection it is usually pointed out, and not without a certain hint of disappointment, that the Cubists never quite broke free from the final vestiges of recognizable forms, as though that were indeed their goal. In the light of our observations we feel confident in saying that nothing could be farther from the truth. For no matter how indispensable to that ultimate development may have been the inroads made by the Cubists in their quest for compounded appearances, it is clear from the very nature of this objective why those last vestiges of recognizability could never be thrown off.

14. To say nothing of the field of modern sculpture.

15. For example, Sheldon Cheney, *The Story of Modern Art*, New York, Viking, 1941, chap. 15.

Admittedly an alternative error in the literature on the subject is the tendency to speak of each movement merely as a reaction to the one previous, the temptation being to champion the movement solely in the light of, and at the expense of, its predecessor thus again overlooking, if not evading, the problem of its positive intrinsic character.¹⁶ Whatever may have been the significance of Cubism as a reaction to what had gone before, positively it was to give to representation as such a form intensity which it had never known before and to create in the process a fundamentally new type of visual experience.¹⁷

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16. Is it any wonder that the reliance upon negative praise of this sort has ultimately done more to discredit Cubism than to support it?

17. Since completing this study the writer has read with interest the new book by Harriet and Sidney Janis, *Picasso: The Recent Years 1939-1946*, New York, Doubleday, 1946. Although the device which they term the "reversal" seems somewhat thinly and hastily conceived and is perhaps rather uncertain even among the few instances cited, *ibid.*, pp. 31-33, it nevertheless bears an interesting affinity (thirty years later) to the type of thing with which we have been dealing here.

NOTES

SHINTO, NURSE OF THE ARTS¹

LANGDON WARNER

Buddhism has always rightly been spoken of by Japanese scholars as the mainstay and patron of their national art, particularly of painting and sculpture and architecture. Not only were all the important examples that survive from early days made for the uses of Buddhism but, till the Middle Ages and even later, few really significant paintings or statues seem to have been intended for profane use. There can be no doubt that since the eighth century the wealthy establishment of Buddhism has been a munificent patron of all the crafts that supplied her varied paraphernalia.

The Shinto religion, on the contrary, has little need for bell, book, or candle, none for paintings or sculpture, and is housed in plain architecture of rigorously archaic convention that permits no shift of fashion and forbids embellishment. Thus we have been told that Shinto was sterile for the arts. But the truth is that, if she never mothered them, she has been their most devoted nurse who saw to it they survived. And it is that fact which makes Shinto of such great importance to our subject.

Students of the history of religions divide Japanese Shinto today into three classes: State, Sectarian, and Cult. We are concerned with an aspect of primitive Shinto which, in spite of its deep social significance, seems to have been neglected by such historians because its traces have already been largely obliterated by a mechanized culture.

Deep beneath the creation myth, which has been lately so much studied and emphasized by reason of its translation into ritual and later to government, lay a natural and all-pervasive animism that bound together the spiritual and material life of the common people. It was based on their concept of all natural forces and laws and the observed fact that these could frequently be controlled by adepts.

This animism differed from similar beliefs in other parts of the world as the Japanese themselves differed. Japan has been largely spared the horrors we find in Africa and the Americas and the dark practices of voodoo, for emphasis seems to have been laid to an unusual degree on gratitude to the beneficent forces of nature rather than on appeasing the dreadful ones. Sin, probably the main sin, was to omit gratitude and the respect that was due. This due respect brought about an emphasis on ritual purification and resulted in a long list of defilements and their corresponding ceremonial purges.

The land and the very air of Japan were crowded with a host of presences. These, and the reverence exacted by the other *kami*, which were spirits of the nearer generations of the family dead, and later by the clan and imperial ancestors, made up the foundation of primitive Shinto. With the exception of the imperial divine ancestors, most Shinto gods were local. Province differed from

province and village from village and farm from farm in the names and attributes of the *genii locorum*. They had in common of course the fertility deities and those which dwelt in storm and shine, birth and death, and in the animals of the wild.

Sansom records that before the middle of the Tempyo period, in A.D. 737, there were already more than three thousand officially recognized Shinto shrines in Japan. To those must be added the shrines of every family, the recognized but unofficial spirits in cooking fire and cooking pot, the mysterious genius that presides over the process of aging going on in the household pickle jar and the yeast in beer, the matutinal salute to the sun, the festivals of harvest-home and of planting, to name but a few out of thousands. Such things, in addition to the reverence exacted by one's own clan forebears and by the imperial ancestors, made up the power of the Shinto religion.

It may be significant of how satisfactory to the typical Japanese character this relatively simple animism proved to be that even nineteenth-century attempts to develop a metaphysic within the framework of Shinto have failed. Nothing comparable to Sufism, Zen, or Thomism seems ever to have been suggested. Japanese minds demanding these higher flights of intellectual or religious mysticism have found their satisfaction in the imported creed of Buddhism.

A fact lost sight of by most historians of art is that Shinto has always been the artist's and craftsman's way of life. Natural forces are the very subject matter for those who produce artifacts from raw material or who hunt and fish and farm. Thus Shinto taught succeeding generations of Japanese how such forces are controlled and these formulae have become embedded in Shinto liturgies. Dealing, as this body of beliefs does, with the essence of life and with the spirits inhabiting all natural and many artificial objects, it came about that no tree could be marked for felling,² no bush tapped for lacquer juice, no oven built for smelting or for pottery, and no forge-fire lit without appeal to the *kami* resident in each.

Buddhism, arriving hesitant in the sixth century and growing into an irresistible force in the eighth, provided the greatest impetus Japanese art had ever known. It was the artist's munificent patron; it destroyed no native beliefs but served merely to provide more work and more elaborate standards for these same Shinto gods and the artists who invoked them. Buddhist temples were erected, Buddhist bronzes cast, priest robes woven, and holy pictures painted, all in foreign style, but it was all done by artists who invoked native Shinto spirits of timber, fire, metal, loom, and pigment. Even the newly introduced and very welcome practice of Indian medicine brought over by Buddhism was tempered and improved by Shinto ritual cleanliness and the enforced isolation of the sick which was quite un-Indian in character. Only a western mind will see in such double beliefs and practices an ap-

1. A chapter from the forthcoming book on eighth-century Japanese sculpture, Harvard University Press.

2. *Misogi Kagi*: the Shinto ceremony of blazing and felling before carving them for Buddhist images.

parent contradiction or presume to imagine any inconsistencies with even the official Buddhism. In truth there were none.

In the dim days before the trades were separated there must have existed conditions that made specialization inevitable. Growing knowledge of the controls and formulae needed in dealing with a variety of natural forces implied the growth of guilds, with their separate mysteries and trade secrets, at an early period.

The correct (religious) way to build a house, forge a sword, or brew liquor had been, from earliest times, in Japan as elsewhere, imbued with a peculiar guarantee of success through its dependence on a divine patron who established rules and divided labor and in whose honor the chanties were sung. To be right has always, until lately, been to be religious.

Each of the trades came to have its peculiar divinity to be compared to the patron saints of the vintners, tanners, brewers, masons, and goldsmiths in mediaeval Europe. And, by the eighth century, the formulae and techniques in each had long ago taken on formal patterns which gave them the character of Shinto liturgies, a principle easily understood by any Freemason in the west today.

The elaborate and ancient craft of house and temple building in Japan serves as a perfect illustration of the way in which Shinto, in one of its important aspects, acted, as did the European guilds, to conserve and perpetuate the secrets of the art. It provided for the training of apprentices and established standards in a rough examination system by which workmen were gradually advanced to the grade of master craftsman and priest initiate. When an apprentice had reached a certain grade of manual skill he was initiated into the theory of what he did and was taught the charms and procedures necessary to insure success. It is beside the point to argue that his rhyme giving the correct pitch for a tiled roof and the different one for thatch, or the mnemonic chant embodying the proper spans between pillars, might better have been printed in tabular form, or to point out that there is no god who would wish to bring down an ill-constructed roof. These people were happily illiterate. They needed aids to memory and a system for transmitting such formulae intact to their sons. The more hidden and complicated the natural processes involved, the more necessary are the mnemonic and religious devices to preserve correct procedure. If no neglected god can bring down a faulty roof, *something* does. Further, it seems highly probable that skillful, conscientious house-building logically can be, and perhaps should be, in some way connected with a man's religion.

It was by rules of Shinto that the jobs of fellers and haulers of timber were distinguished from those of carpenters competent to build with it. Shinto chanties hoisted the roof beam into place, timed the movements of gang labor and preserved the necessary orderly progress that marks the stages of any construction job. Failure to observe the logical stages halts the work and therefore becomes impious, an evidence of divine disapproval. The time clock, rules of the labor guild, holidays, penalties and promotions were all part of it. The carpenter's try-square and plumb-bob as well as his simple if sufficient rule-of-

thumb³ formulae of angles and proportions, have all been embedded in Shinto rhymes and patters and aids to memory that were liturgy, litany, and sound sense.

Thirty years ago a fresh log for the repair of the huge Daibutsuden in Nara was laid on blocks to keep it from the damp earth, and a mat shed was built above it. I was told it had been felled for three years, three more moons must pass before it was hewn square, more moons still before it could be sawn and then, after the planks were wedged apart for air in the pile, still another specified number of moons must wax and wane over them before they could be pegged in place on the great building. By that time the dryad, *ki no kami*, who writhes in agony and splits the log would have made her escape.

It is precisely this sort of old wives' tale that competent sociologists and folklorists should collect in order to work out the preservative power that Shinto has had on the arts of Japan. For here was the mother of science. Superstitious practices connected with the maturing of yeast in wine, beer, and bread are divine (and therefore not to be forgotten) ordinances to insure success through cleanliness and the regulation of temperature. Forging, planting, manuring, and harvest, animal husbandry, cookery, medicine, navigation, and hunting have in every country been among the arts perpetuated by liturgy, song, and drama of religious character.

In order to understand why Shinto has withstood science so long, one has but to watch pink-coated gentlemen of England with the Quorn Hunt gravely performing blood sacrifice on the brow of a neophyte after a successful day with the fox hounds. A talk about fisherman's luck with a Portuguese out of Gloucester to the Banks, or with a European baker or vintner on the subject of yeast will demonstrate the persistence in the west of animistic religion in the modern crafts.

In early times the craftsman of the greatest skill (the master) was naturally the one on whom fell the duty to make sacrifices and perform the purifications necessary to insure the success of the job in hand, whether that job was the construction of a building or a boat or a sword, or the cure of the sick, or the difficult pouring of bronze for an image, or the communal rice planting in spring. To invoke the nature gods successfully—"correctly"—meant that the farmer must be weatherwise and the smith experienced in the precise shade of cherry red when the blade must be drawn from the forge and quenched in its bath. Further, the correct prayers and songs and ceremonial gestures must be employed. This of course was a kind of priest craft, an ability to control the nature gods.

For the invocation and rites that grew up as part of the arts can by no means be dismissed as senseless mumbo-jumbo. Embedded in them was much of the necessary procedure rediscovered by the unsentimental scientist today. They were aids to memory, actual formulae, in rhyme or rhythm or tune or cadence, to insure their correct transmission from master to apprentice in a form that made them impossible to alter or forget. The fact that these formulae were not only utilitarian but associated with the gods—of the forge in one case, the weather in another,

3. What is that very expression, "rule-of-thumb," that has been embalmed in English, but a relic of times when tape measures were not always on hand and a man's digits were?

and the mysterious spirit of growing yeast in a third—gave them a sacred ritual character that made it sin to alter or forget them.

At the time when Buddhism was at its imperial height during the eighth century, superior techniques of image making, architecture, weaving, and scores of other crafts came crowding across from China in its train. The fresh skills were eagerly absorbed by native craftsmen who made them their own and planted them in the friendly soil of Shinto. Tools never before seen were tried and found good. New formulae for bronze mirror casting, new tricks in the lacquerer's and temple builder's trades were learnt by heart and passed over to young men by means of rhymes and chants. Thus a richer litany and more elaborate liturgy grew up in the service of the craft gods, and their virtue was proved by the production of more perfect and elaborate works of art than the old days had ever seen. The patron gods remained the same. Man was better informed on how to control them. A man skilled in such formulae was not only the head of his shop or guild, he was a priest in the very act.

The Shinto priesthood, recognized as such today, no longer includes these master craftsmen. But professional priests still are called on to invoke the spirits of weather and crops as well as the gods who hold the welfare of the nation and of the Imperial family under their influence. Until a few decades ago, however, the head of the guild performed priestly offices in special robes and was, on such occasions, sacred. Even today some villages can be found where preeminence in boat building or fishing implies an unofficial priesthood with its accompanying social and religious distinction. Where this is preserved, sociologists and ethnologists and folklorists must search for material on which to reconstruct the primitive Shinto of eighth-century Japan.

It will be seen then that Shinto, seldom the patron of the arts, was, from the very beginning, their nurse and preserver.

It is neither sentimental nostalgia nor ignorant worship of the good old days which makes us see a large measure of human good in this society where the material culture was fostered by so natural a system of craftsmen-priests. Compared with the output of an industrialized society it is certain that few conveniences were produced, but it is

equally demonstrable that one necessity we lack today was then available. The necessity so lacking is of course the prime requirement that a man's trade should permit and train him to grow into a complete man.

Tending our factory and assembly lines quite blocks the complete human development of potential skills of hand and mind and spirit, without which one can never be called whole or wholesome. With us, however knowing and ingenious the designer of a machine may be, and how adequate the foreman of the production line, few integrated individuals emerge at the end of a fruitful life. Trained first to his craft and growing week by week in knowledge of a hundred natural laws, the European or Japanese mediaeval maker could rise to govern his small crew, lay out their work, teach youngsters the way he himself had come, and, by reason of his growing responsibility and wisdom, take honorable place in the community by virtue of his master craftsmanship.

With us, servile mechanical science dares not admit the need to show any respect to such outworn gods as those that govern all processes, all results of making, from the strains and stresses sealed within a building or a boat to the mysterious working of yeast in liquor, or the three years' ripening of clay before it is fit for the potter's wheel and kiln. And yet there is little harm and much good in a condition that breeds reverence toward natural forces, emphasizing and preserving a manner of doing things which long experience has proved "correct."

The non-scientific and religious attitude of the Shinto craftsman is necessary in a bookless culture, so that receipts and techniques and procedures (scientific formulae) may be kept without loss down the generations in the shape of chanties and rhymes learnt by rote of heart. They become all the more indelible through their double character, for they are at the same time aids to memory and magic charms like our own churning chant, to "make the butter come," and the unforgettable "Three Four Five" units that make a right angle. Their virtue is none the less when simple minds tend to see in them a magic power over nature gods. If the essence of priest craft can be said to be human control over natural forces, this is indeed the religion of the craftsman-priest and his community.

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BOOK REVIEWS

CHINESE ART SOCIETY OF AMERICA, *Archives*, I, 1945-46, New York. Pp. 98; 12 collotype pls.

The Chinese Art Society of America, organized with a laudable statement of aims in 1944, has issued in its first *Archives* a volume notable both for physical appearance and high quality of contents. These include three papers by well-known scholars, Ch'ên Mêng-chia, Alfred Salmony, and Helen Chapin, on various problems of Chinese art history. Most valuable of all from the standpoint of Sinology in general is the reprint of an address given before the society in January, 1945, by Paul Pelliot, in which he described the fate of Far Eastern studies and scholars in France under Nazi occupation. His death soon after has prompted the editors of the *Archives* to couple with his speech a brief appreciation of his career by Serge Elisséeff, and to dedicate their initial issue to his memory.

The first paper, "Style of Chinese Bronzes," is a contribution by the professor of Chinese archaeology and paleography in National Ts'ing-hua University, Peip'ing. Professor Ch'ên has for several years been working toward a grand corpus of the ancient Chinese bronzes in American collections, under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. His reputation in China and the special interest of his study guarantee that any publication by him in English will be keenly anticipated and read with serious attention. It seems to this reviewer a pity, therefore, that his first detailed report to an American audience should have been given the form it has in the *Archives*. The study of Shang and early Chou bronzes has in the last two decades become for European and American scholars a kind of Homeric contest, into which no champion should venture unmailed and without all his weapons. The bulk of Professor Ch'ên's paper is devoted to an analysis of all the manifold vessel forms comprehended under the name *yu* (the type once studied for the ART BULLETIN by Bachhofer¹). These he groups into eight main categories (with subdivisions and intermediate hybrids), according to shape. The procedure is acceptable enough as a starter, but it might have been worked out by any intelligent graduate student under competent direction. Findings that the author's expert knowledge make more valuable are, for want of space, summarized in unsupported statements. Dating attributions are brief and vague; the discussion of style implied by the title is perfunctory. The process of stylistic evolution, so carefully reconstructed by Bachhofer, is here revealed only in a few confusing glimpses. The well-read reader will find of chief interest the hasty skirmishes executed by Ch'ên against his two most formidable western antagonists. Karlgren's system he dismisses by questioning the validity of its first premise, the definition of criteria for a Shang inscription. He believes that all the symbols so isolated actually continued in use in early Chou, and instead proposes a multiple basis for decision, involving comparison with oracle-bone inscriptions. Bachhofer he com-

mends gracefully for the general value of his researches into the history of style, but criticizes for misleading conclusions based on a misuse of evidence. He takes specific issue with Bachhofer's attribution of a so-called "severe style" to the reign of Ch'êng Wang in early Chou, as the crux of his hypothesis. The same bronzes are included by Ch'ên in an "A-type" that he calls "early": typologically they are the earliest in his series.

Salmony's "A Problem in the Iconography of Three Early Bird Vessels" follows the unpretentious but profitable method of symbol identification established in his earlier studies. His problem is to explain the odd hooked legs seen on three bird-shaped receptacles, owls in the Holmes and Sumitomo collections and a dove(?) in the Art Institute. He states the general principles governing the symbolic language used in Shang and early Chou: a limited repertory of fixed forms, elaborated by the use of non-natural combinations, or simplified by abbreviation; and as a corollary, asserts the need of a maximum of comparative material, to free symbol reading from the perils of misinterpretation. Applying such material to his own problem, he makes a plausible case for the identification of his hooked bird legs as abbreviations of a type of coiled snake-monster found on more explicit examples. In completing his account by attributing dates, he shows a characteristic modesty in using a criterion proposed by Florence Waterbury: the contrast in silhouette between "a suave and homogenous contour," assigned to Shang, and "turbulent forms with parts breaking away from the surface," which "find their logical place in Early Western Chou." Here a comparison with Ch'ên's system is interesting. The latter's "D-type" of "flanged *yu*," in which "decoration is very heavily plastic," is placed entirely within the Shang. It includes such extreme instances of "parts breaking away from the surface" as the *yu* with diagonally projecting arms in the Freer Gallery.

Professor Salmony makes no attempt to explain the meaning of the symbols he describes. This reviewer applauds both his stated criticism of the Hentze theories, and his prudent silence regarding the Ackerman *phalloi*.

Helen Chapin's paper on "Three Early Portraits of Bodhidharma" bears the unmistakable imprint of her wide learning and scrupulous standards of scholarship. Her subject is the striking divergence in physical type between the earliest Far Eastern representations of Bodhidharma, and the familiar model later multiplied and parodied in China and Japan: a contrast between a slight, even emaciated old figure, and a beefy or ridiculously fat one. Miss Chapin explains the discrepancy by showing (as Pelliot and Hu Shih had done in part before her) that the legend of Bodhidharma's transmission of the Ch'an doctrine from India to China was rationalized at a relatively late date, after centuries of uncertainty; that early versions are full of inconsistencies; and that the final story was perhaps even pieced together from the careers of several Indian missionaries. Her demonstration makes a thorough use of Chinese and Japanese sources, and covers in part, also, the

1. L. Bachhofer, "The Evolution of Shang and Early Chou Bronzes," ART BULLETIN, XXVI, 1944, pp. 107 ff.

associated problem of the so-called Second Ch'an Patriarch, Hui-k'o.

The first of her three pictures is included in a collection of portraits of the six Chinese patriarchs of the sect, grouped irregularly on a paper sheet preserved by the Shingon temple Kōzanji, near Kyōto. Here the figures with their attendants are in outline only, and have no settings. Bodhidharma is shown with three underlings, receiving the salutation of his future successor, Hui-k'o, who (as the orthodox story insists) offers him his severed arm as a token of devotion. Miss Chapin describes the work as a print, and translates an inscription recording its manufacture under Sung imperial direction in 1054. According to a Japanese study that she mentions by title but was unable to secure,² the work is actually a brush-drawn copy, probably made from the imported original by order of a Sinophile abbot of Kōzanji in the thirteenth century. Judging from the style, which shows no Kamakura characteristics, the copyist must have been meticulous. Outside of the iconographic importance stressed by Miss Chapin, then, the picture gives rare testimony of the state of Buddhist figure drawing at the middle of Northern Sung.

The second early portrait occurs in a series showing both the Indian and Chinese patriarchs, as illustrations to a standard Ch'an text, the *Chuan-fa Chêng-tung Chi*. This work, completed in 1061, is preserved in Far Eastern Tripitaka without illustrations; the single known copy with pictures was executed in Japan in 1154, and now belongs to the Shingon temple Tōji in Kyōto. The line-drawn portraits occupy a horizontal strip above the text, formally divided by frames. Bodhidharma is again shown with a kneeling Hui-k'o, though all details are at variance with those of the Kōzanji version. Miss Chapin notes that the modern Japanese publisher of the scroll speaks of its draftsmanship as being in the style of the painter Wu, and explains this as "a Chinese style, we presume, contemporary with the painting of the original." The reference was rather to the great T'ang master Wu Tao-tzu, whose fame still overshadowed Northern Sung. As a piece of stylistic criticism, it merits no serious attention.

The third portrait is part of the remarkable Yunnanese scroll of Buddhist icons, done in the 1170's, which the author has already discussed in part. This is a painting, and though more awkwardly executed than the other two, has the interest that they lack, of a simple out-of-doors setting. With this addition it closely resembles (and must typologically be related to) the typical Sung Lo-han picture. Miss Chapin claims for the whole scroll a T'ang iconographic basis, because of the time lag involved in its provincial origin. I should think that a more accurate statement would be that its basis was the stylistic and iconographic formulae of Northern Sung, which in turn were mostly derived from late T'ang.

To Miss Chapin's trio may be added a fourth portrait type, preserved in Japan and briefly published by Dr. Ono;³ it is the most primitive of all, since it shows the missionary alone, kneeling on the ground, without any specific Ch'an details. I speak of a "type," since two portraits are involved, as details in two scrolls showing both

Chinese and Japanese priests, now owned by Ninnaji and the Hisabara Library in Kyōto. Dr. Ono reproduces only the Ninnaji drawing; but since both were copied from some unspecified earlier work by the same artist in 1163, they are presumably alike.

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KURT WEITZMANN, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, Number 2), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. 219; 205 figs. \$12.00.

With this book the field of late classical and early mediaeval art has been enriched by an original study of methods and principles, the fruit of the mature scholarship of a man and an institution both eminently qualified. It is the capstone to the author's many contributions to the field of early illumination and at least one formulation of the approach of the Princeton School, so long active in the study of practically every phase of the subject. The author tells us that it grew out of the work of the Department of Art and Archaeology on a corpus of Septuagint manuscripts and a graduate course which he gave there together with the general editor of this series of studies, A. M. Friend, Jr. Since the present volume restricts its scope to illustrations intercalated in the text, it may require re-examination after the publication of the companion study of author portraits by Friend. But with no indications to the contrary we may tentatively presume that Weitzmann found nothing in that aspect of the problem to invalidate what he now offers.

It should be stated at the outset that Weitzmann's book merits high praise for undertaking the difficult task of defining historical principles in the relationship between the written word and its pictorial accompaniment, especially in this most complex area. More than theoretical formulations alone, it brings to the reader many examples of the skillful application of methodology consequent upon his working principles. The tangled complexities within single manuscripts are cleverly unraveled and each thread carefully traced back to its source, unimpeded by breaks in the filiation. The clarification and critical evaluation of terminology in this area of scholarship, and the analytical application of methods adapted from textual criticism, make this a book especially welcome to students of Bible illustration but instructive to others as well. The author has been able to correlate the relevant researches of the philologist, the papyrologist, the archaeologist, and the art historian in the creation of a unified picture of the origins and forms of classical and mediaeval illumination. While not intended as a comprehensive history, the book does propose in some detail a radically revised account of the origins and provides the basis for critical review of much hitherto tentatively accepted knowledge in this controversial field.

One of the main proposals of the author is that the classical illustrated rotulus originated in the Hellenistic period, and while no examples survive, indirect evidence affords not only the materials for his proof, but also for their reconstruction. His analysis of the principles govern-

2. Shinsei Mochizuki, *Hōun*, III, 1932, pp. 46-48 (in Japanese).

3. Gemmyō Ono, *Bukkyō no Bijutsu to Rekishi*, Tōkyō, 1937, pp. 757 ff., fig. 91.

ing "The General Relation between Literature and the Representational Arts" (Section I) gives the theoretical basis for his assumption. The actual appearance of these manuscripts is derived from clues in works of various media and a thorough consideration of "The Physical Relation between the Miniature and the Text" (Section II). As a preliminary step he clarifies the working terminology, rejecting Wickhoff's (*Die Wiener Genesis*, 1895) more ambiguous distinctions in favor of the categories created by Robert (*Bild und Lied*, 1881), which he adopts. He therewith traces the development from the "simultaneous method" by which literary subjects were pictured in the archaic period, where several actions occur within a scene, to the "monoscenic method" emerging in the fifth century, giving a single action in a scene, to the culminating form, the "cyclic method" of the Hellenistic period. This last method, representation of an iconographically coherent sequence of scenes illustrating a uniform textual source, is seen in the so-called Homeric cups, the *Tabulae Iliacae*, the Roman sarcophagi, and elsewhere. The close interdependence between text and picture in the cyclic method makes for a measurable ratio between them, once a sufficient sequence of scenes dependent upon a basic text has been collected. That ratio, the "density," provides a rule by which the scale of illustrations of an entire work can be projected. A complete *Odyssey* at the density given by the Homeric cups would, accordingly, have had some five hundred scenes. Since no other medium, the author feels, could possibly have provided such enormous cycles, "it seems only logical to conclude that the *cyclic method* itself is not only appropriate for the papyrus roll, but was actually invented for it" (p. 40). Working thus by an inferential method analogous to that of archaeologists deducing lost Greek marbles, he unfolds a world of new possibilities for illuminated papyri, proposing, for example, a lost Euripides with "hundreds and hundreds" of pictures.

Apart from iconographic evidence of such monuments as the Homeric cups, the physical make-up and general layout of the lost papyri are determined by the form of Egyptian papyri, whose influence is accepted, and supported by "principles of roll illustration in classical antiquity" (pp. 52-53) which Weitzmann derives from study of illustrated classical fragments. From this he deduces a "papyrus style," characterized by: (a) location of miniatures determined by the text and subordinate to it, (b) miniatures placed within the lateral limits of the writing column ("column pictures"), (c) lack of formal relationship of scenes to each other as a decorative system, (d) lack of borders and landscapes for illustrations. He contrasts this with the "parchment style" of the codices, whose miniatures, in principle, are isolated framed scenes with background settings. The latter evolves from the former, motivated by the invention of the codex form, which Weitzmann places around A.D. 100 from the evidence of two parchment codex fragments and Martial's mention of a *brevis membrana*. The distinctive "papyrus style" provides the lever of formal principle for prying behind the codex miniatures, early or late, for the recovery or reconstitution of picture cycles antedating the fourth century A.D., the date so often given as the beginning of western illumination but here suggested as the period

when the balance swung toward the abandonment of the roll in favor of the book form. Weitzmann discerns progressive steps in the evolution to the isolated miniature, starting with the juxtaposition of the column pictures as taken over from papyri, so that the scenes are lined up in a row, followed by their superposition in rows. By a process of physical expansion the miniatures eventually occupy the full page, borderlines become frames, and the resultant area within filled with background. In that last stage, miniatures are finally gathered into a coherent cycle, placed in front of the text and can now be read independently of it. Thus, in examining the Vienna Genesis he discovers there his second stage, that of superimposed rows and, disengaging what would be the separate iconographic units of the combined scenes, he restores them to a two-column model of the Genesis, actually showing sample reconstructions (Figures D and E). Marginal and commentary illustrations are accounted for as a separate class, in one case resulting from the addition of scenes not originally provided for by the scribe, in another, systematic marginal cycles or commentary illustrations as such.

Concerning the Trajan Column reliefs in which Birt and others have seen the type of classical illustrated rotuli preserved, Weitzmann finds such an approach completely incompatible with his view of column pictures and the papyrus style. He reiterates Lehmann's arguments against Birt's views concerning the derivation of the reliefs from triumphal paintings, and concludes that the Joshua Roll shows "an essentially different type of frieze" (p. 126), and "an individual solution of a later period" (p. 128). He maintains that the archetype of the Joshua Rotulus was a roll or codex, but in either case, one with column pictures distributed in the text. Thus, far from a typically early form he finds that "in the lining-up of scenes in frieze form, the Rotulus must be considered as the last step of a development which had started in early codices . . ." (p. 129).

Paralleling this formal and physical analysis is the study of "The Relationship between the Miniature and the Text with Regard to Content" (Section III). Just as the author seeks to determine the formalistic stages of miniatures in relation to their evolutionary derivation from ultimate papyri and codices, similarly he finds for the literary content that basic textual archetypes must be sought and can often be distinguished. As a guiding principle he offers the view that "the average classical, Byzantine or Western illuminator up to the Romanesque period, was extremely conservative and tried to copy wherever he could find a model, avoiding as far as possible the invention of new iconographic subjects" (p. 143). Thus, while a manuscript may present some novel compilation of texts, critical study can often discover the basic sources from which the accompanying miniatures have migrated, and there may be as many different iconographic series as underlying basic textual sources. Even when no basic text is known for the illustrated manuscript in question, due consideration must be given to the possibility of a lost text to which the miniature now becomes a clue, rather than the rare phenomenon of pictorial invention. The author most skillfully traces several examples of manuscripts with miniatures at various stages of removal from their arche-

types, and tracks them back most convincingly to basic sources.

The art historical implications of Weitzmann's method are of fundamental import, as he demonstrates in the case of the Cosmas Indicopleustes. Where Ainaloff had accepted the miniatures as examples of Alexandrian style from the fact that the text had been written there, Weitzmann shows that the illustrations must derive from Biblical manuscripts which could be much older than the Cosmas, and need not have been Alexandrian models. "Moreover, the transfer of the Biblical miniatures from a Bible into the Cosmas need not have taken place in Alexandria, but at any other locality and also at any time between the sixth and the ninth centuries, i.e. between the archetype of the Cosmas and the Vatican copy, where and whenever an art lover asked an illuminator to manufacture a particularly splendid copy" (p. 143). Specific elements within this broader iconographic realm, such as fashions, conventions, decorative fillings, misunderstandings, alterations and additions are given due consideration both in principle and by way of specific demonstration. While some of the conclusions may seem obvious enough, they are essential to rounding out the presentation, and it is, furthermore, certainly true that some scholars have been led to erroneous conclusions through neglect of such simple matters. Particular attention is paid to the Terence manuscripts, whose archetypal illustrations were placed in the fourth or fifth century on the basis of costume details which could, however, be accounted for by an intermediary copy and therefore "alone cannot be used as the *terminus post quem* . . ." (p. 159).

Finally, in a recapitulation, Weitzmann proposes "The Cycle of Miniatures as the Basic Unit of the Illustrated Book" (Section v). He distinguishes between a "monocyclic manuscript," which is a unified text with its own proper illustrations, and the "polycyclic manuscript," in which the illustrations have been excerpted from more than one monocyclic series. He warns again that the existence of illustrations within one book is no evidence that they are necessarily a homogeneous and coherent unit. Even a single miniature in such a book may belong to another basic series and the different component cycles must be distinguished and then separately investigated. However difficult such an approach, for it demands a rich fund of textual and pictorial knowledge on the part of the student, it is certainly essential to the proper study of the problem, especially of the illustrated Bibles. While primarily iconographic, it does not exclude stylistic considerations. Weitzmann demonstrates, in the case of the Menologium of Basil II, how both approaches are necessary to the resolution of the difficulties which the signed miniatures present. The conflicting styles *within* the *oeuvre* of each of the masters can, he finds, be accounted for by tracing the miniatures back to the models which they followed. Thus, all those which go back to a Lectionary source have certain characteristics in common cutting across the difference in "hands"; so also the standing prophets, for which the author finds a prophet-book source: "the style of the model can only be determined after the model itself has been clearly defined in its iconographic character and limits" (p. 205).

In spite of this impressive work of scholarship, this patient, clear, and skillful exposition in the examination of individual manuscripts and these proposals for methodology, there will be those who, like the present reviewer, will hesitate to accept some of the most fundamental propositions of the book. The postulated classical papyri with extended cycles of illustrations rest on a theoretical necessity found to be implicit in the cyclic method and the material evidence of objects with scenes belonging to that system. But, on the one hand, there is no demonstrable compulsion in the idea that, just because the cyclic method is so nicely geared to literary presentation, it was at that stage in classical representational evolution that illustrations *in* manuscripts first began, or even that any scenes accompanied the text. One might, by extending the implications of such method, and with no preconceptions, make a case for non-cyclic papyrus illustrations of even pre-Hellenistic date simply by collecting scenes from vase paintings and other media, whose subject matter can be related to a generally unified theme. While it could easily be an accident of survival that no extant papyri prove Weitzmann's theory, yet, if he is correct after all, one may search hopefully in ancient sources for some allusion to such fabulously illustrated rotuli as he outlines, like the Homer with a thousand or more scenes.

The material evidence for the character of Weitzmann's reconstruction rests to a large extent on the evidence of the Homeric bowls and the Iliac tablets. From two existing bowls, he hypothecates five others, which all together would illustrate the twenty-second book of the Odyssey. From this he derives his "density" of illustrations, by a mechanical ratio of verses to scenes. The difficulty appears at once, for some three hundred cups would be necessary for a fully illustrated Homer, and he admits that their existence is "quite doubtful." Yet he does not hesitate to shift this burden to the hypothetical illustrated rotulus. Could one not rather assume that the potters worked from pattern books, into which not only the illustrations, but portions of a text could be noted as workshop material? As for the text which appears on the cups, it could be read either as evidence *for* an illustrated rotulus, or just as well, *against*. In the latter case it would be necessary to elucidate scenes unfamiliar since unknown in the rotuli. The Iliac tablets, which provide the author's suggestion of an illustrated Homer of some fourteen hundred scenes is a rather weak link in the chain of evidence and reconstruction. Four scenes, in Weitzmann's example, illustrate successive illustrations of more or less regular "density," from the first book of the Iliad, while the succeeding three are "widely scattered over the rest of the book" (p. 39). By analogy one would think that this is sufficient evidence to disprove the mechanical "density" analysis of the cups, for obviously the artist did not feel obliged by the law of "density." Weitzmann explains it thus: "This reveals clearly the conditions under which the sculptor worked: he apparently had a full cycle as model, which he started out to copy in its original density, but when he realized that there was not space enough to continue on the same scale, he changed the system and filled the rest of the frieze with selected scenes" (p. 39). But this seems an odd conclusion for a scholar otherwise so cautious and painstaking. It would be most doubtful that

the sculptor, especially of that date, worked thus. The very nature of his technique demands a preconceived plan and not direct execution as he goes along. Again, one could, with equal if not greater plausibility, adduce such works in making a case against the existence of book illustrations—such tablets possibly serving in their stead for the education of youth. It is particularly interesting in this connection to see how, in the case of the Trajan Column reliefs, a homogeneous connected cycle of illustrations for which one might (as did Strzygowski and Birt) seek an illustrated rotulus source, Weitzmann believes that such need not and could not have been the model. Nor does he see in the reliefs any evidence for the pictorial character of classical rotuli. In this he is in agreement with Karl Lehmann's theory of triumphal paintings as the more likely explanation for the relief series. The problem is still far from its solution, for another scholar has just revived the argument in favor of the rotulus source for the Column reliefs (Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Copenhagen, 1945), and Weitzmann will elaborate his own views in a monograph on the Joshua Rotulus, already in print. The pertinent fact for the present is that such monuments as the Column prove that the classical artist employed sources which to us can only be matters of completely contradictory debate. The arguments which could eliminate the rotulus source of the Trajan reliefs would urge at least equal caution before finding rotuli as the source for a fragmentary succession of scenes such as those on the Homeric cups, the tablets, and sarcophagi. Would it not be more simple and more practical to assume for the Trajan Column reliefs, an illustrated rotulus, not the usual type in then current use, but working pattern-books created for the particular task? Thus one could account not only for the elements in the reliefs which so strongly suggest a rotulus, but also weighty arguments which would exclude a rotulus in the ordinary sense.

Integral with Weitzmann's entire thesis is the definition of a "papyrus style" for early classical illumination, derived from Egypt, and evolving into essentially new pictorial forms of the "parchment style." The "general principles of roll illustration in classical antiquity" (Section II.A) which he proposes are admittedly based on examples which "are not only pitifully few, but also utterly insignificant from the artistic point of view . . . and cannot, therefore, be taken as a norm to judge the artistic standard of book illumination in the Hellenistic and Roman period" (p. 47). Of these he selects only examples which preserve two or more columns of text, so that their relationship with the illustration can be studied. But of his six examples, three are scientific treatises, and two others magical formulae, making a total of five which belong to the category of technical texts. As he tells himself, there is evidence that diagrammatic drawings must have existed from at least the sixth century B.C. Yet he draws the general principles from these fragments and the one properly literary example, an unidentified romance. It seems to be rather thin ground on which to define the lost classical papyrus style of literary illustration. The additional illustrated papyrus fragments which he discusses are even more dubious as evidence for the general argument since practically each one has been only very uncertainly identified

as having been part of a rotulus rather than codex. Hence the next step which relates the Greek to Egyptian examples cannot be followed with any great conviction.

The point of contact with Greek examples is found in the hieratic papyri of Egypt, but Weitzmann's example is undermined by several important considerations. He compares, in particular, the peculiar coloristic effect and thick brush technique of the Rhind papyrus miniatures with the illustrations of a Greek fragment in Paris (cf. his figs. 40 and 49-50). But the Egyptian example, written for a couple who died 9 B.C. is far removed in time from the Greek papyrus which is placed in the second century A.D. Even granting the similarity of brush work, etc., it still appears, at least from the reproductions, that the stylistic relationship between the two examples is not very compelling.

It is on the basis of this formula of papyrus style with column pictures that the evolutionary steps depend. By this Weitzmann finds it possible to dissect later codex illustrations in order to restore them to a hypothetical archetypal pictorial state. The reconstruction of the Vienna Genesis model is derived in this manner, but seems forced. In both his reconstructed leaves (figs. D, E) he is obliged to delete the mountains from the miniatures as they now exist (fig. 73). In the scene of Abraham returning from the sacrifice, he finds the mountain to be "not an integral part of the scene" (p. 90). In the scene of Lot's drunkenness he assumes "that some cubes of rocks which fill the lower right triangle, actually replace a couch" (p. 92), and proceeds to eliminate the sizeable mountain and install said couch. This is a puzzling procedure, especially in view of Weitzmann's acute awareness of iconographic evidence. The mountains belong to both scenes; Abraham was asked to offer his son "upon one of the mountains" (Gen. 22), while Lot, "went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain" with his two daughters (Gen. 19).

Excessive insistence on column pictures, in some instances, obscures much simpler explanations. In tracing the "survival of the principles of roll illustration in the codices," the author finds that "all three variations of the column picture, . . . the first, in which the miniature is placed in the left side of a writing column; the second, in which it is shifted over to the right; and the third, in which the column is interrupted . . . have survived in later codices . . ." (p. 71). But his first two categories represent no real distinction, for it can be seen that in mediaeval illumination it is quite usual for the miniature, when it "overflows" its framing limits, to expand into the left-hand margin on *verso* leaves, and to the right for *recto* leaves. His example of the first "variation" (fig. 56), is indeed a *verso* leaf. The principle is one of book format and page composition rather than columnar principles (cf. his figs. 97, 102, 103 and 109 which illustrate this system).

Since Weitzmann admits that all of the elements of the full-page illustration were present in the beginning in the case of the frontispiece illustration, it would be difficult to justify a separate evolution of the column picture as he proposes it. The fact that such full-page, framed, frontispiece miniatures with background were used, proves that the solution to a pictorial problem had been achieved. That

it could be applied to individual scenes within the manuscript at will must be granted, and therewith the independent evolution of those small scenes through successive stages of discovering the possibilities of a full-page miniature would seem to be an academic imposition.

The author states that historians of book illumination usually begin with the earliest extant codices, such as the Milan Iliad and the Vatican Virgil, which they take as "the earliest illustrated manuscripts ever made, not realizing that only a long development could have produced such advanced works . . ." (p. 8), and cites J. A. Herbert's book as an example of this fault. But Herbert is not guilty and says specifically that those manuscripts "show by their very fully developed manner . . . that they are less the casual beginnings, than the last products of an art" (p. 1). Herbert also admits that "the opening chapter of a complete history . . . ought no doubt to be devoted to Egyptian papyri" (p. 1), but he chose to restrict the scope of his book to illustrations on vellum. Even the bare outline summary by Arthur Haseloff in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* states clearly that the Iliad and Virgil miniatures may be based on anterior models.

On Marginal and Commentary Illustrations (Section II c), the author discusses, as the first type, "the casual addition of miniatures which were not planned for in the layout" and were necessitated in cases where "the scribe forgot to provide the necessary space . . ." (p. 112). This would seem to be a doubtful picture of the workings of a scriptorium and such instances would be rare exceptions. Certainly the examples here given do not have the aspect of oversight and afterthought. The St. Luke in the Vatican Cosmas (fig. 98) looks like a perfectly good pictorial solution. Yet the—misleading, I think—columnar concept causes Weitzmann to state: "There can be no doubt that the original intention was to have him standing inside the column and that his present position is the result of mere neglect on the part of the scribe" (p. 113). Many examples in manuscripts and early printing can be found to show that such illustrations represent a separate and positive concept. Where cycles were added at a date considerably later than the text, Weitzmann's category is quite acceptable, but then the scribe cannot be blamed. The author does, of course, provide for systematic marginal cycles as such.

But neither the major criticisms suggested by this reviewer, which are surely debatable, nor the minor defects mentioned, should detract from the basic value of this book. Professor Weitzmann is to be congratulated on this achievement, a fine and clear exposition of his method, and the outline of general methodology, which can help greatly toward a revised critical approach to early manuscript problems. Readers will be grateful to find gathered here excellent illustrations of some rarely reproduced fragments of illustrated classical papyri as well as the more familiar miniatures. Princeton University Press has given us an attractive volume from the point of view of book-making, typography, and illustration, free of any discoverable technical imperfections.

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MARCEL RAVAL and J.-CH. MOREUX, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, Paris, 1945. Pp. 68; pls. 178.

In this monograph Mr. Raval starts with pointing out the significance of the rediscovery of Ledoux which took place twenty years ago. He is full of enthusiasm about the achievements of the architect, who, except for some works of local interest, was completely disregarded up to that time and, if mentioned at all, just ridiculed. He sees in him "un véritable précurseur" (p. 13), and not less than "le dernier de nos grands ordonnateurs classiques, le premier de nos grands bâtisseurs modernes" (p. 18). Mr. Moreux is similarly enthusiastic (p. 47). Mr. Raval considers the discovery to be one of those "exhumations fortuites, providentielles . . . ces découvertes infiniment rares" (p. 9) of art history, but finds that it did not bring about the adequate evaluation of the artist: "L'ampleur et la soudaineté de l'engouement suscité par Ledoux, il y a quelque vingt ans,¹ nous empêchèrent alors de prendre la vraie mesure de sa personnalité . . ." (p. 17). It does not matter whether the word "nous" is to blame his French colleagues or somebody else. Obviously, the difficulty of grasping the meaning of a newly unearthed artist's work is great, and the first commentaries will soon be followed by rectifications. The biography of Mrs. G. Levallet-Haug (1934) contained little criticism and illustrated few of Ledoux's most original designs, but gathered much data about his life. To these the two authors could add but a few details, most of them of secondary importance. The question is: What have they done for a better understanding of Ledoux?

They knew that they had to avoid the gravest shortcoming of the Levallet biography;² that they had to deal with Ledoux's historical position and to interpret his performances. They are apparently not up to their task. Their publication is valuable chiefly as a picture book presenting a large part of the architect's production, although not the entire work by far. But they have not been able to form independent views. They borrow their concepts from different sides. Their method of approach is primitive, the treatment of the material superficial. They lack knowledge of eighteenth-century architectural history.

They have failed because they have not proceeded from their own observations, nor have they envisaged the problems involved. Either they merely recognized that there was a gap to be filled, or they were assigned to make up the book *pour l'honneur du drapeau*. They were prompted by outer, not by inner reasons, and thus have remained exploiters continuing along trodden paths, instead of explorers finding some new way.

The lack of inner compulsion appears in almost any aspect of the book, above all in the absence of an original general concept. The authors have resorted to the simple expedient of amassing the available characterizations, bar-

1. Concerning the rediscovery of Ledoux, cf. Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, Vienna, 1924, p. 583. The first essay in which I emphasized Ledoux's significance appeared in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, May 1929. This was summarized in *Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie*, 1929, and other publications of mine on Ledoux appeared between 1931 and 1933.

2. Cf. the reviews in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1935, pp. 353-355; *Kritische Berichte*, 1935, pp. 92-96.

ring, of course, the disparaging criticism of old. They have taken from Ramée's introduction to the 1847 edition of Ledoux's *Architecture* the view of Palladio's influence, without considering the essence of his *oeuvre*, and unaware that Palladianism is a worn-out slogan handed down from the eighteenth century and endlessly repeated. They have uncritically accepted the view of Mrs. Levallet-Haug (p. 140) about the heritage from Piranesi, although his fantasticism can be traced in the designs of other contemporaries rather than in Ledoux's, and although in the line of proto-romantic exaltation Jean-Baptiste Le Geay may have been far more influential than the Venetian architect. They have taken over my basic concept of Ledoux as the foremost representative of the change from the Baroque to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as many single observations of mine, and present them as their own. It is only the difference in language which makes their plagiarism less conspicuous.³ They have adopted also my organization, presenting separately the life story, the aesthetic criticism, and the analysis of the single buildings grouped according to their purposes, instead of the customary intermingling of the three categories. Following Mrs. Levallet-Haug's book (p. 126), Mr. Moreux has classified the *Barriers* in four groups (p. 65). Here as in other cases he aims at giving his writing a scientific appearance by a grandiloquent terminology, calling, e.g., the group of circular structures the "Famille des tholos."

Dealing with Ledoux's aesthetics, Moreux declares unity to be the outstanding characteristic of Ledoux's designs: "Nous sommes toujours frappés par l'unité que présente chaque oeuvre de Ledoux" (p. 44). Thus he contradicts Mr. Raval who finds (p. 24) that the isolation of the parts plays the greatest role in the work of the architect ("cette autonomie des édifices . . . qui est la clef de voûte de son système") and quotes (p. 22) Bachaumont: "il ne conserve pas assez l'unité." Each author has taken a different bit from my comments on Ledoux's com-

position. What I attempted to demonstrate was that the architect passed from the traditional unification of the parts to the modern isolation of the elements, both within the single structures and within the groups of buildings, or, to use my former term now adopted by Mr. Raval, to the *system* of architectural *autonomy*. It might have been well if the authors had considered the meaning of the comments they have made use of, instead of appropriating single terms; or if they had reached an agreement not to borrow discrepant views, in the interest of the "unity" of their book. Unfortunately they were unanimous in accepting (pp. 20, 43) my incomplete characterization of the historical position of J.-F. Blondel, which they would not have done had they been acquainted with his writings. With Blondel's designs rather than his text in mind, I pointed out that Ledoux early moved away from the traditional line of his teacher. But I omitted to say that Blondel already had much of the reformer in him.

Historians so dependent on others can hardly develop a proper method. For each artist requires a specific approach derived from the preliminary conception of his "style," and that of the period. Lacking such a conception the authors could do no more than hunt for similarities. As Ledoux (*Architecture*, p. 23) puts it: "La plupart des hommes instruits ne jugent que lorsqu'ils comparent: compilateurs exacts, ils s'appuient sur tous les exemples qui servent de boussole. . . ." The inevitable result of such nearsightedness is, again in the words of Ledoux (p. 14): "On perd la vue si on s'accoutume à voir par les yeux d'un autre." An outstanding specimen of the misuse of the comparative method is Mr. Moreux's discussion of the gridiron plan (p. 45). In several publications, beginning with the essay on French architectural theories in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1924, LXIV, p. 219, I pointed out the significance of the gridiron plan in the works of Ledoux and Durand, declaring this scheme to be a noteworthy new start in planning. Messrs. Raval and Moreux have fully accepted this view which permits new understanding of the nineteenth-century development. Yet Mr. Moreux finds the gridiron scheme already in the sixteenth century. Were this correct, then he could not well speak (p. 51) of Ledoux's "*nouvelle solution*." But the drawing to which he refers has nothing to do with architectural planning. It is the well-known figure of a man reproduced in many editions of Vitruvius to demonstrate the theory of the exemplary proportions. In the edition of 1521 the draughtsman attempted to make the point clearer by setting the figure off against a system of coordinates. Obviously this was not intended to serve as a model for ground plans. Moreover, the Renaissance theory (derived from Vitruvius), which was to be set forth with the help of that figure, had a meaning diametrically opposed to the concept of the gridiron plan. The latter means *geometrization* of the arrangement. The classical period, however, strove after *humanization*, or *organization*. It wished the architectural "body" to be related to the human body. Here, as in other cases, Mr. Moreux, using a single example, simply records superficial similarities without questioning the meaning of the designs. The far-fetched illustrations and comparisons he presents (figs. 3, 9, 12, 13, 22) are to make the book look scholarly.

3. The serious charge of plagiarism must be substantiated. Therefore a few passages from my book *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier*, Vienna, 1933, and the "translations" by Raval and Moreux may be put side by side: "Die Erweckung der Persönlichkeit . . . war das Werk Italiens" (p. 5): "le réveil de la personnalité . . . en Italie" (17)—"Grenze zweier Epochen" (6): "deux Univers s'affrontent" (17)—"ein leidenschaftlicher Verfechter neuer Ideen" (9): "Ledoux, passionné, embrassera les idées nouvelles" (44)—"von einer grossen Tradition losgesagt" (12): "rompra avec l'orthodoxe tradition" (44)—"Zertrümmerung des Barocken Verbandes" (16): "la rupture d'éléments . . . jusqu'ici solidaires" (24)—"Pavillonsystem" (17): "système de pavillons isolés" (24)—"noch leitet ihn das Streben nach Bildmässigkeit" (18): "Ledoux sacrifie le souci de l'effet" (24)—"Rangunterschiede . . . fallen" (38): "Il ignore la hiérarchie des genres" (28)—"Heimkehr zu den primitiven Formen" (47): "soucieux de retrouver l'originelle pureté des formes" (27)—"Zwiespältigkeit seines Gesamtwerkes" (59): "ambivalence" (14)—"in unaufhörlichen Vor- und Rückwärts" (*Krit. Ber.*, 1935, p. 94): "il revient aux unes ou aux autres" (55). Longer comments, too, have been adopted, e.g. that on the plans for the Ideal City (pp. 16-18, R.-M. p. 24); the remarks that the idea of the equal rights of the parts passed into architecture (38, R.-M. 13), that Durand found teachable formulas for the new doctrine (52, R.-M. 45), and that the new principles lived on under the surface all through the nineteenth century (59ff., R.-M. 17), etc. It is amusing that Mr. Raval begins the last quoted statement with the words "Comme nous Pavons dit. . . ." Whereas Horst Riemer copied a large part of my 1929 essay word by word (cf. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1935, p. 189), Raval and Moreux (and likewise Gertrude Rosenthal in the *News of the Baltimore Museum of Art*, Nov. 1947) have appropriated a large part of my concepts.

To explain the plan of the *Barrière de la Chopinette*, Mr. Moreux applies a favorite method of his (p. 66, with the wrong caption *de Belleville*). He looks up Piranesi's map of the Campus Martius and finding there a somewhat similar shape within the layout of a dock (*navalia*), he makes believe that Ledoux picked out that fragment to draw a plan for an entirely different purpose. He apparently ignores the fact that in the eighteenth century many people were interested in triangular plans, both in France (Neufforge, Laugier, L. A. Trouard) and in England. Instead he turns to Piranesi's map, and succeeds in finding a tomb as the probable inspiration of Ledoux's triangular *Barrière de Pantin*. Since the latter's plan shows a completely different arrangement of some identical features, he dubs Ledoux's scheme pompously "Métathèse du Sepulchrum Agrippae."

Meticulous enumerations of single features in several cases, too vague comparisons in others, replace careful observations. To Mr. Raval the designs of the Lauzon and Barail houses "semblent échappées de la toile d'un primitif italien" (p. 34); the entrance of the *Prison of Aix* "évoque les portes d'un enfer dantesque et le refuge du Minotaure" (p. 26); some staircases "ont une consonance babylonienne" (p. 12). It is left to the reader to make any sense out of such empty words. Mr. Moreux finds the library of Cassel "assez nordique" (p. 59); the Du Barry pavilion reminds him of Tivoli or the Tusculum residence (p. 50); and the De Witt House of the "merveilles du 'Songe de Poliphile'" (p. 53).

The same superficiality that makes the comments meaningless lets the authors overlook important factual data. It has escaped their attention that the engraving of the *Hunting Lodge* in *L'Architecture* bears the date 1778, and that the house illustrated on plate 123 is dated in the text 1773. Both designs are landmarks in architectural history and their dates are the more noteworthy as almost the only means of finding out when Ledoux's most advanced projects originated. The designs for the *Commercial Building* (ed. 1847, pls. 221-223) are erroneously included in the designs for the *Ideal City* (p. 63), although the captions give the location Rue St. Denis. In an attempt to demonstrate Piranesi's influence, Mr. Moreux illustrates (p. 66) the plan of the *Barrière de Picpus* side by side with the fragment of the plan of a "Porticus A.—S.P.Q.R." (*sic*) from the map of the Campus Martius. Between the fragment and the layout of the barrier there is only a very slight similarity. Moreover, there is on the map neither a Porticus A nor a Porticus B. But there is the legend "Porticus a S.P.Q.R. amoenitati dicata." Reading this only partially, or misunderstanding it totally, Mr. Moreux has separated the preposition "a" from its nouns by a dot and a dash, and passed over the second half of the caption. In exposing Palladio's influence, the authors mistake Villa Ragona at Ghizzole for Villa Foscari at Malcontenta (p. 237). On p. 210 they illustrate the *Barrière de la Chopinette*, but present its plan on p. 66 as that of the *Barrière de Belleville*. A project termed anonymous in the caption, p. 102, serves, p. 37, as proof that Ledoux's "audace" was unbroken even in his advanced years.

There are in the monograph almost no references to the sources from which the data are taken. This makes the lack of references to the places from which the concepts

are borrowed less conspicuous, but makes any checking impossible. Mr. Raval asserts, for example, that the necrologist J. C. was Jacques Célérrier (p. 13, Cellierier, p. 38). What was his source? He seems to have adopted the *assumption* of Mrs. Levallet-Haug (p. 5), omitting, however, the question-mark that the latter cautiously added. Scattered all through are quotations from *L'Architecture* without page references, so that one cannot ascertain whether the context allows of the given interpretation. The following important sources are missing in the bibliography: Ledoux, *Prospectus*; J. F. Blondel, *L'Homme du monde éclairé par les arts* (ed. Bastide, Amsterdam, 1774); L.-V. Thiéry, *Almanac du voyageur à Paris* (Paris, 1784); C.-F. Viel de Saint-Maux, *Décadence de l'architecture à la fin du 18^e siècle* (Paris, an VIII); the article by L. de Berluc-Pérussis in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements* (1902) which constitutes the main source for the projects for Aix; the essay by A. Monnot in *Académie des Sciences . . . de Besançon, Procès-verbaux* (1925); O. Gerland, *Paul . . . du Ry* (Stuttgart, 1895). Not a single publication by J.-C. Krafft is listed, nor any of the essays that appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1862, 1885, 1892, nor the material contained in the *Archives de l'art français*, I, 270, 423; VI, 270, and the *Nouvelles Archives*, I, 434 ff. On the other hand a book is cited as by me which I have never written: *Die Krise der Baukunst um 1800*. The authors must have heard of a lecture of mine by this title. Among the dictionaries the two most important are left out, the *Dictionary of the Architectural Publication Society*, and Thieme-Becker.

It is only a minor error that Jean is given as the first name of Blondel instead of Jacques (p. 20). But Ledoux biographers should be thoroughly acquainted with his publications. Then they would know from the *Cours d'architecture* (III, 382 ff.) that Ledoux's church of the *Ideal City* is derived from a design by Blondel, of course with some changes. They would know that roof balustrades with statues are as common in his *oeuvre* as in the entire Baroque, so that Ledoux did not have to take them from Palladio (pp. 22, 49). Nor could Mr. Moreux find that symmetrical relations with respect to the main axis were characteristic just of "certaines compositions de J.-F. Blondel" (p. 49). For this manner of composition rules almost unexclusively in the latter's work as in all planning since the Renaissance. The term *enfilade*, so frequent in French classical theory, is apparently unknown to the authors, and so is the architectural idea behind it, from which Ledoux was one of the first to turn away.

There should be at least a brief reference to Le Geay, and another to Laugier, whose treatises have become famous because of his novel viewpoints, and whose influence on the generation of Ledoux was pointed out by Blondel (in *L'Homme du monde* . . .). An historian speaking of Ledoux's trend toward functionalism and rationalism (pp. 16, 17) should know of the greatest architectural rationalist of the eighteenth century, Carlo Lodoli. The new ways of men like Neufforge, Lecamus de Mezières, De Wailly, the winners of the Grand Prix, etc., should not be passed over in silence. It is no use writing a monograph without sufficient knowledge of the period.

Of Ledoux's pupils the authors know only those (pp.

37, 67) whom they have found in my publications. Two architects whom I had no reason to mention in my contexts are missing in the monograph: Pierre Fournierat, who is named as a pupil in the protocols of the Academy of Architecture, and L. E. A. Damesme, who worked under Ledoux at the Barriers. It is strange that Paris art historians ignore the famous Théâtre Olympique, in which Damesme followed Ledoux closer than anybody else ever did. Damesme's prison at Brussels was a copy of Ledoux's project for Aix, with all the difference of course that exists, in all fields, between *explorers* and *exploiters*.

To fill the pages Mr. Raval indulges in journalistic verbosity, trying to make his text more interesting by various spurious embellishments. Worst among these are insignificant eighteenth-century gossip (pp. 22 ff.) and pure fiction with disregard of the sources. He adds, e.g., to Gerland's report about Ledoux's stay at Cassel freely invented details: "Ledoux . . . explosa, vitupéra, menaça de partir . . . Radouci, Ledoux se mit au travail . . ." (p. 26). Or, he presents a melodramatic account of how the architect in 1792 walked up and down his room, desperate, and anxiously concerned about his suffering wife, when suddenly some brightness relieved the gloomy atmosphere—a sealed letter informing him of his promotion to first-class membership in the Academy (p. 35). The fact recorded in the latter's protocols is that he was a candidate, but was *rejected*. The prison scene (p. 36) is another piece of poor fiction (p. 36). We do not know of any source telling of the reaction of the Princesse de Conti upon Ledoux's strange project for her palace. Mr. Raval seems to be well informed: "Ledoux dut s'amuser cette fois de voir son noble visage se figer de stupeur" (p. 33). Gossip without any interest for art history is the passage: "Vignon . . . fut sans doute son fils naturel" (p. 28).

Mr. Moreux has the pseudo-scholarly habit of showing off with bits of knowledge from various fields. Often he uses terms incorrectly. He should not compare the form of a two-storied house with many rooms and windows with a *megaron* (p. 64), nor refer to a monopteral superstructure as a *peripteral temple* (p. 55). Though he shows his knowledge of the genitive of *οἶκον* (p. 65) he does not appear to be very good in Greek, deriving Panaréteon from *Παν ἀρὲν* (*sic*), instead of from *Πανάρετος* (p. 65). He amasses a multitude of terms where a few plain words would do as well. "Ne dirait-on point *Patrium* ou le péristyle et le *xyste* d'une villa romana?" (p. 48); "L'entrée . . . s'exprime comme la porte d'honneur d'un *palais achéménide*, comme l'entrée *trionphale* d'un *forum*" (p. 51). All this reminds one of Molière's *Savantissimi doctores*. . . . Brackets like those on the storehouse of Compiègne are a very common feature; there is no need to refer to the corbels of the Colosseum (p. 57). It might have been worth while to explain what is to be understood by "un fronton tracé selon la méthode vitruvienne" (p. 57). On p. 60 is the passage: ". . . *trirème* où ramaient des nautoniers vêtus à l'antique." One can hardly imagine what antique oarsmen would have worn if not antique costumes. Apart from that, Ledoux does not present a *trirème*, but a galley with two rows of oars. Mr. Moreux might have avoided the preciousity "*ledolien*" (pp. 66, 68) had he known of Carlo Lodoli; and might better

have omitted the platitude: "lois éternelles de la composition" (p. 44). On page 54 he exclaims lyrically: "A-t-il pensé à la Brenta?" The answer is contained in Ledoux's *Prospectus* (p. 16), which Mr. Moreux ignores: "Ces palais qui se reproduisent dans les eaux limpides de la Brenta . . . qu'ont ils produit pour la classe nombreuse? Rien." This utterance is one more proof that Ledoux did not share in the minor spirits' cult of the idol, Palladio.

Mr. Moreux deals very superficially with those designs in which he cannot find similarities or reminiscences. So he devotes (pp. 62, 63) only about twenty lines to ten of Ledoux's most original inventions, making just the vague remark that they are indicative of the artist's inclination "vers le baroque et vers le symbolisme." Under "Maisons de campagne" (p. 63) he discusses the *Hunting Lodge*, but has not a word to say about the other houses he illustrates. Neither reproduced nor commented upon are the houses of Atilly, Evry, Schemitt, Parc de Bellevue; the Pheasantry of Maupertuis; the second project of the Discount Bank; several interesting projects for the Barriers, as those for Saint-Hypolite, de la Santé, etc.; the House of the Writer, etc.

Mr. Raval's "consonance babylonienne," Mr. Moreux's "Porticus A," and other above-cited specimens are symptomatic of the way these scholars look at things and deal with the material, i.e. Ledoux's designs and text as well as the sources. Any discussion of the borrowed concepts they have set forth does not belong here, but in a cumulative review of previous literature on Ledoux.

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BARTLETT COWDREY and HERRMANN WARNER WILLIAMS, *William Sidney Mount, 1807-1868*, New York, published for the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. 67; 79 ills. on 33 pls. \$5.00.

ELIZABETH MC CAUSLAND, *The Life and Work of Edward Lamson Henry, N.A., 1841-1919*, Albany, New York State Museum, 1945. Pp. 381; 262 ills. on 103 pls.

These two monographs on American genre painters are encouraging signs of the increasing scholarly study of American art.

William Sidney Mount was the first American-born painter to devote himself chiefly to genre, and was the founder of the native genre school, as Cole was of the native landscape school. Few artists have built their art so completely out of the world around them, in his case the village of Stony Brook, Long Island, where almost all his life was spent. He was a "character," full of Yankee idiosyncrasies, preferring his little community to New York, an amateur musician, an inventor of sorts, and in later years a spiritualist. Several times patrons offered to send him abroad, but he always declined. Yet he was surprisingly aware of European art, especially the genre painting of the Low Countries and England, and had a particular admiration for Rembrandt and a corresponding distrust of the "artificiality" of the Italian school. (Mr. Williams

quotes a long amusing letter which Mount claimed to have received from the shade of Rembrandt.) His voluminous journals show that he thought much and clearly about painting. Judging by them and what others wrote about him, he was a sensitive, humorous, and likable person.

Mount's genre pictures were created as directly out of the characters and situations of his community as those of the Dutch Little Masters. The close and happy relation between his environment and his art is illustrated by *The Painter's Triumph*, in which an artist is displaying his latest picture to a farmer who is enjoying it as much as he. The prevailing notes in his work were zest, good cheer, a sense of humor without satire or broadness, and an engaging sentiment that had no hint of tragedy. Only the young Winslow Homer has equaled him as chronicler of the life of the old Yankee farm. His art was the purest pictorial expression of the agrarian democracy of Jacksonian America before the full impact of industrialism.

Mount had a fresh eye, and his work was founded on direct observation. His outdoor scenes show a feeling for season, weather, and light, even for such subtleties as the color of sunburnt grass and quiet water under a summer sun, curiously anticipating impressionism. A skillful draftsman and a master of the brush, he understood transparent painting as few of his American contemporaries did, and his color was always luminous. Throughout his life his style showed a steady growth. The early pictures are inclined to be tight and hard and awkwardly composed, but those of the middle 1840's and the 1850's, such as *Eel Spearing at Setauket*, *The Power of Music*, *Boys Caught Napping in a Field*, and *Who'll Turn the Grindstone?* are effectively designed, free in handling, and subtle and pearly in color, with skillful use of a unifying golden middle tone. These mature works, with all their homely subjects and small scale, reveal Mount as one of the most accomplished of American painters.

Mount's genuine merits were achieved within strict limitations. He had little emotional range or depth; his portraits were cold and perfunctory; his few large-scale figure pieces were mostly failures; his forms had no great substance or plasticity; his style was often hard and external. But within these limitations he produced an art of permanent value that ranks him, with Bingham and Blythe, among the most gifted genre painters of the mid-century.

This first book on Mount is a work of collaboration. Mr. Williams wrote the biographical and critical text, and he and Miss Cowdrey collaborated on the catalogue, she doing most of the bibliographical research and organizing the material. Mr. Williams did not attempt a full-scale biography, in view of plans by others for fuller treatment and because certain essential Mount manuscripts were not available. But within the space limits imposed, he gives a compact biographical account containing all the essential facts, accurate and fully documented, correcting previous errors, and presenting a perceptive portrait of the man and the artist. His critical detachment is welcome by contrast with the current tendency to magnify the virtues of our native painters out of proportion to their world stature. He shows a clear sense of Mount's limitations, as when he says of his portraits: "The warmth

of a living being was rarely captured by Mount. It was not technical incompetence, but a temperamental or psychological barrier that seems to have separated him from many of his sitters." On the other hand he does not sufficiently analyze Mount's artistic development, and in the historical background he does not relate the rise of native genre to that of landscape; indeed he tends to disparage the latter, whereas both were manifestations of a new national consciousness and presented interesting parallels.

The catalogue, though the authors modestly decline to call it a *catalogue raisonné*, is one of the most complete so far published on an American artist, within certain definite limits. It does not include portraits, nor drawings except those related to listed paintings. But it lists all the known genre, landscape and figure paintings, including those mentioned or reproduced during the artist's lifetime but not so far found, such as his exhibits at the National Academy, with contemporary descriptions. Over a third of the items bear the notation, "Present location unknown." In view of the relatively small body of Mount's work, this is a sad commentary on our neglect of our own past. Since the publication of the book a number of pictures have come to light, and it is to be hoped that they continue to do so.

Generous data are given under each picture. Especially interesting are the contemporary comments. One omission is that histories of past ownership are not always given, even when obtainable. The catalogue proper is supplemented by lists of tentatively or incorrectly attributed works, and of prints after Mount's paintings. There is an excellent annotated bibliography.

It is to be hoped that the same scholarship may some day be applied to a full-scale book on Mount, perhaps by the same authors. The unpublished biographical material is unusually rich, and more pictures are bound to be discovered. Mount's own writings are so full of character that a selection from them would be of great interest.

A different period and temperament conditioned the work of E. L. Henry. By his middle years the old American genre school was in decline. It had reached its culmination in the early work of his contemporaries, Homer and Eakins, but both had gone on to other subject matter—Homer to the sea and the wilderness, Eakins to portraiture. Most of the younger men of the "New Movement" ignored the American scene, finding it crude and ugly after Europe. Whistler taught them that the storytelling picture was passé, and the impressionists that things in themselves were less important than the light and air that bathed them—a conception fatal to genre art. The few younger artists who pictured daily life, such as Chase, Dewing, Tarbell, and Benson, were attracted to the politer levels of society. Only a handful of older men—T. W. Wood, Eastman Johnson, J. G. Brown, and Henry—carried on the old democratic genre tradition.

Unlike Mount, Henry received a thorough academic training in Paris. But his early pictures were of the contemporary American scene. The Civil War, in which he served, furnished some subjects, including the fine *City Point, Virginia*, with its extraordinary detailed panorama of behind-the-lines transport and supply. All his life he was fascinated by transportation in all its forms—horse-drawn vehicles of every kind, canals, railroads, bicycles, even the first automobiles. He was one of the few painters

of his time (aside from the makers of popular prints) who portrayed this most American of subjects, and his delightful *9:45 A.M. Accommodation, Stratford, Connecticut* (1867) is one of the rare nineteenth-century railroad paintings that have any artistic merit.

In the early 1880's he settled near the village of Ellenville, N.Y., in the foothills of the Catskills, and from then on a large part of his work was based on the people and landscape of that region. He had a shrewd sense of character, a gentle humor, and a strong sentimental attachment to old-fashioned country ways. No other artist of his time except illustrators like Frost and Kemble caught the flavor of the rural east as genuinely as he did. His naïve, utterly sincere little pictures, with their painstaking wealth of detail, remain our truest pictorial records of the horse-and-buggy, summer-boarder era, as Mount's had been of an earlier day. But Henry's art was an anachronism, as Mount's had never been. When Mount pictured the Yankee farm it was in its golden day, a central element in society. By Henry's time eastern mountain communities like Ellenville were backwaters, survivals of a kind of life that belonged to the past. Henry's art was motivated by a nostalgia that had no place in Mount's.

This nostalgia appeared clearly in his reconstructions of the American past, which occupied him increasingly as he grew older. These reconstructions focussed on the daily life of the past rather than on historic events, showing how people lived and dressed and traveled in early days, so that they had some of the everyday quality of his contemporary genre. His pictures of early transportation by stagecoach, canalboat, and railroad, with their meticulous attention to detail, are charming graphic records of American history. But they shared some of that sentimental idealization of the past that swept the nation in the wake of the Centennial Exposition of 1876. They pictured a considerably more elegant social stratum than his Ellenville works. Compare their gentility with the realism, satire, and broad humor of Bingham's and Blythe's paintings of their own time, and one sees the difference between an art several degrees removed from reality and one springing directly out of it.

Throughout a long and busy career, Henry failed to grow, in subject, viewpoint, or style. His later work was essentially the same as his early work, but less vital. He never equaled his two early achievements, *City Point* and *9:45 A.M. Accommodation*. Both had pictured lively aspects of the contemporary scene; but he failed to follow up this vein. By the time that the Eight began painting the crowded life of New York, Henry was definitely committed to the past or to rural survivals of the past. His style remained fixed in the literal naturalism of the mid-century. Meissonier continued to be his greatest admiration among modern painters; even impressionism had little effect on him.

Yet today he seems more contemporary than most of his colleagues of the Genteel Generation. He did say something about the life of America, whereas they produced art whose content was a tasteful vacuum. Even his

naïveté is refreshing beside their pseudo-sophistication. Within its limits, his work has lasting value.

Miss McCausland's book is based on the Henry Collection acquired in 1940 by the New York State Museum in Albany through the generosity of Mrs. Henry's family, consisting of sketches, drawings, a few paintings, letters, clippings, photographs of his pictures, and a manuscript biography by Mrs. Henry. Through the initiative of the then director of the museum, Dr. Charles C. Adams, Miss McCausland was commissioned to turn the material into a book. The project is important not only for its intrinsic interest but as the first publication of its kind by the state and one of the first by any state. As Miss McCausland rightly says: "The Henry study has a value beyond its immediate usefulness. It is intended to encourage the general public to deposit in public institutions those materials which constitute the living archives of our country's achievement. . . . About the life of every person of public interest, no matter how minor a figure, there accumulates this increment, which becomes of value from the historical or documentary point of view. This is an intangible value, rarely capable of being converted into cash. For this reason, these documents are too often destroyed. . . . Obviously, the care and preservation of such material is a public duty."

Miss McCausland has done an able piece of work in collating this large body of data and supplementing it with additional information from Henry's neighbors at Ellenville. The result is a full-length biographical and critical study marked by scholarly accuracy and completeness and by uncompromising critical standards. Particularly illuminating is the way she has placed Henry in his period and analyzed the effect of the period on his art. Her judgment of him as an artist is severe but on the whole just. She points out his compliance with the bourgeois taste of his day, his "cultural recidivism," and his shortcomings as an historian of his time and of the past. With her general verdict no one today could disagree, but one wishes that having accepted his limitations she might have devoted more attention to his virtues, minor as they are.

Her catalogue lists all the works owned by the State Museum, 227 items in all, chiefly sketches and drawings, with full information; also all known works owned by others or unlocated, including many recorded by photographs or other data in the Henry Collection. Because of time limits it was impossible to locate many of the latter. This is therefore not a complete catalogue of Henry's work, but it does present a body of systematized data on which some future cataloguer may build.

Mrs. Henry's biographical sketch, also included, is a naïve document but with its own innocent charm. Besides numerous reproductions of Henry's pictures, Miss McCausland presents many photographs relating to his life and subjects. It is to be regretted that the state did not provide a more fitting physical format. The illustrations are too small for real study. The book deserves better than this.

LLOYD GOODRICH
Whitney Museum of American Art

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